FBIS DAILY REPORT

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COMMENTARY TERMS REAGAN STATEMENTS 'THREAT'

AU212016 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Oct 81

[ATA commentary: "Open Threats of Nuclear Warfare"]

[Text] In an interview that he gave recently to U.S. journalists, President Reagan raised his threat of nuclear warfare to its highest level. He declared that the eruption of a nuclear war in Europe involving the use of tactical nuclear weapons is a possibility, adding that such a war could involve the aggressive NATO and Warsaw Pact organizations without it being necessary for the two superpowers to press the buttons unleashing their strategic nuclear weapons to hit each other directly. The U.S. President stated that he would first see how this weapon could [words indistinct] in the nuclear theater.

Taking his cue from Reagan's profoundly warmongering statements, Brezhnev, too, in an interview [words indistinct] speaking in the same language, albeit disguised with demagogy, threatened that escalation would be inevitable. These threats, which have become almost a daily event recently, prove clearly that both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists have selected Europe as the field of their nuclear confrontation. As is known, they have concentrated huge nuclear arsenals in Europe to equip the aggressive armies of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

In this confrontation for domination both Washington and Moscow, as is apparent from the aforementioned statements, are calculating that the European peoples will be the first victims who, in case of a military confrontation, will pay the price for such a war, while the superpowers will draw the benefits. Commenting on Reagan's cynical remarks, the press and various agencies point out that these are also a sign of American pressure on its allies to induce them to unconditionally approve the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles, lest they be abandoned by the United States, regardless of the treaties binding them. It is worth pointing out that the statements were made precisely on the eve of the meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group, in which, as is known, not all the members are prepared to agree to the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles on their territories. Washington's attempt to fill-in any cracks within the alliance through pressures of the most varied kinds is obvious.

MARKO ADDRESSES MINER'S MEETING IN POGRADEC

AU210936 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Summary] The Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions and the Ministry of Industry and Mines organized a national meeting of the distinguished mining brigades in the iron-nickel mine "Guri I Kuq" in Pogradec District on 19 and 20 October. Taking part were also leading cadres from all mines in the country and trade union activitis. The meeting was opened by Llambi Gegprifti, minister of industry and mines. [Martin Cukalla], deputy minister of industry and mines, delivered a report on the propagation of the distinguished mining brigades' excellent results in mines and vertical wells.

The discussions revealed the fact that higher indexes have been achieved in mining since 1981 to treble or quadruple the advances, especially in the mines of Prrenjas, Guri I Kuq and in the mine construction enterprise in Tirana.

These successes are based on the better organization of work and on the reinforcement of technical discipline. Better work was also achieved in vertical wells. At the end of the meeting, Comrade Rita Marko, president of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions, spoke. Brigades, sectors and distinguished individuals were decorated with the title of "Outstanding Workers of the AWP's 40th Anniversary and Its 8th Congress." "Those present also took part in the inauguration of new sociocultural projects in the 'Guri I Kuq' mine for which 3,373,000 leks were invested."

RADIO REPORTS, COMMENTS ON SITUATION IN POLAND

AU221951 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The BTA correspondent reports from Warsaw: The appeal of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum to guarantee public order and calm in Poland, to oppose the disorganization of life and to struggle against violations of law has been answered by the Solidarity extremist circles by a new attack against the constitutional socialist legal order in Poland, and new provocational actions. In various places in Poland there have been demonstrations and hooligans' excesses against the militia organs. In Katowice and Wroclaw, it was necessary for the police to take energetic measures in order to preserve public order and stop the illegal dissemination of antisocialist literature and direct attempts against the organs of the law. In order to prevent the repetition of such acts, the authorities in Wroclaw Voivodship have banned meetings in public places.

In this connection Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, said at a meeting with foreign journalists in Warsaw that Solidarity is copying the example of the fascist organizations in Hitler's Germany; namely, units composed of criminals and hooligans which threaten the life of peaceful citizens and honest workers.

With every day it becomes ever clearer that the national leadership of Solidarity and its local branches are conducting a course aimed at usurping the government. Under Solidarity's aegis they conducted partial strikes and announced strike alerts in 28 of the 49 voivodships.

Today in Gdansk, the first meeting of the newly elected national commission of Solidarity opened. It will discuss the situation in the country after the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. After the brutal actions against the government which have taken place in recent days, one can hardly expect a change in the behavior of Solidarity's leaders.

CPSU'S VASILIY KUZNETSOV CONTINUES VISIT

Received by Zhivkov 22 Oct

AU221244 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, has received Vasiliy Kuznetsov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Awarded Dimitrov Order

AU221550 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] On 22 October Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, awarded Vasiliy Kuznetsov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with the Goergi Dimitrov Order. The State Council has awarded Comrade Vasiliy Kuznetsov Bulgaria's highest order on his merits and contribution to developing and strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation and coming together, and in connection with his 80th birthday.

In his speech at the award ceremony Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished Comrade Kuznetsov new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress for the benefit of the fraternal Soviet people and for further developing and strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and fraternity.

Comrade Kuznetsov expressed cordial gratitude for the high award, which is another manifestation of the sincere and friendly feelings of Bulgarian communists and the entire Bulgarian people toward the CPSU and the Soviet people.

Comrade Vasiliy Kuznetsov was cordially greeted by comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov.

Later Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon at the Boyana Residence for Comrade Vasiliy Kuznetsov.

Peace, Cooperation Discussed

AU221546 Sofia BTA in English 1514 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhikov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received Mr Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

In a cordial and friendly talk they informed each other about the fulfilment of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress and exchanged views on matters of mutual interest.

Discussion went on the expanding and deepening of Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation and its dynamic development in all spheres in accordance with the agreements reached at the meetings of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Leonid Brezhnev.

The resolute determination of the two parties to the talks to step up their efforts in the struggle for reducing the international tension, for curbing the arms race and for disarmament, for consolidating the peace and security of all states and peoples, was reaffirmed.

After the meeting Mr Todor Zhivkov decorated Mr Vasiliy Kuznetsov with Bulgaria's highest order, the "Georgi Dimitrov".

This distinction goes to him for his great services for the development of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship and cooperation and on the occasion of 80 years of his birth.

Departs 22 Oct

AU221640 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] On 22 October the delegation of the Soviet Union to the celebrations of Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary, led by Vasiliy Kuznetsov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, departed from Bulgaria. At Sofia airport the delegation was seen off by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Peko Takov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov; Dimitur Zhulev, Bulgaria's ambassador to the USSR; and Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

TODOR ZHIVKOV RECEIVES HIGHEST GDR AWARD

AU221553 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, presented today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, with the highest award of the GDR -- the "Karl Marx" order.

This high distinction was conferred on Mr Todor Zhivkov on the occasion of his 80th birthday and for his remarkable contribution to the workers' movement, for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle for peace and friendship among the peoples.

Mr Horst Sindermann and Mr Todor Zhivkov made speeches. Mr Sindermann emphasized that Mr Todor Zhivkov is a reliable leader of the Bulgarian working class and the Bulgarian Communist Party, an internationalist of renown and loyal friend of the Soviet Union whose life and work are linked with the struggle against fascism and war, for socialism and peace.

"We highly value the great personal contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov to the further deepening of fraternal relations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Bulgarian Communist Party, between the GDR and Bulgaria," said Mr Sindermann.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said in reply that his presenting with the "Karl Marx" Order for a second time is a high recognition of the contribution of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the development of the international communist and workers' movement, of the contribution made by the Bulgarian people to the construction and establishment of real socialism, of peace and cooperation between the peoples.

"This high distinction is an expression of the fraternal and fruitful friendship of our two Marxist-Leninist parties, of our countries and our peoples, who are translating now successfully in life the bequests of Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann," said Mr Zhivkov further.

"I would like to express here my deepest confidence that shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, Bulgaria and the GDR will continue, as formerly, to advance in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism, peace and security in the world," said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1030 GMT on 22 Oct carries a similar report of the award ceremony, which adds: "The following persons attended the ceremony: Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Todor Bozhinov, [few names indistinct] Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov."]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES NICARAGUAN DELEGATE TO FETE

AU221528 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received today Mr Bayardo Arce Castano, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista Front for national liberation and chairman of the Political Commission of the national leadership of the front, who heads the Nicaraguan delegation here for the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

Mr Todor Zhivkov thanked warmly for the wide-scale response to the Bulgarian jubilee in Nicaragua and for the respect shown for the Bulgarian people.

Mr Zhivkov and Mr Bayardo Arce Castano discussed the state of bilateral relations expressing satisfaction with their ascending development.

Mr Todor Zhivkov reaffirmed the solidarity of the Bulgarian people with the struggle of the people of Nicaragua for constructing a new society, stressing that Bulgaria will go on rendering all-round help to Nicaragua.

DZHUROV RECEIVES DPRK MILITARY DELEGATION

AU221520 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Today army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence, received a working military and political group of the Chief Political Department of the Korean People's Army, led by Lieutenant-General (Yun Chi Ho), candidate member of the CC of the Korean Labour Party and deputy head of the department.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov made the guests familiar with the building of a developed socialist society, with the successes in consolidating the Bulgarian People's Army.

Lieutenant General (Yun Chi Ho) expressed the conviction that the visit of the group will contribute to developing the coopeation between the two countries' armies.

DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER BEGINS OFFICIAL VISIT

Arrives 22 Oct

AU221547 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] On 22 October at the invitation of Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, Kjeld Olesen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, arrived in Bulgaria on an official and friendly visit. At Sofia airport the guest was greeted by Minister Petur Mladenov, deputy ministers of foreign affairs and responsible officials from the ministry.

Talks With Mladenov

AU222057 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Bulgaria and Denmark's foreign ministers, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Kjeld Olesen, declared today that irrespective of the two countries' belonging to different socio-economic systems and military alliances, no problems exist between them at all.

They emphasized at the formal talks begun here that the relations of Bulgaria and Denmark develop well in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Mutual readiness for raising their level was also expressed.

The two ministers were unanimous in stating that the economic relations of the two countries, notwithstanding their favourable development, do not yet comply with the level of relations between Bulgaria and Denmark and their economic potential.

It was stressed that joint efforts should be made for stepping up the trade, for improving its structure and for adopting new forms of economic cooperation.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Kjeld Olesen emphasized the need for resuming and intensifying the two sides' dialogue at all levels.

Exchange of views on the international situation also began today.

Received by Filipov

AU222046 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Today Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Kjeld Olessen, Denmark's foreign minister.

A wide range of questions related to bilateral relations [words indistinct] and their favourable development was found with satisfaction.

It was stressed that there are many good possibilities for expanding and deepening of the economic relations, for exploring new, more progressive forms of economic cooperation.

MLADENOV, LUKANOV RECEIVE LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER

AU222044 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- Consultations between the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry and the State Department of the U.S. were held from October 19 through 22.

During the consultations Mr M. Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs and Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant state secretary of the U.S. reviewed the state of and prospects to bilateral relations.

Mr L. Eagleburger was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers. At the meetings views were exchanged on a wide range of questions related to the international situation and to the two countries' cooperation.

TWO BILLION SCHILLING LOAN GRANTED TO BULGARIA

AU201640 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 20 Oct 81 p 10

[Summary] Vienna -- Austria has granted Bulgaria a 2 billion schilling loan for investments in the tourist trade sector. The envisaged investment projects include building at least three hotels in Sofia and Plovdiv as well as a cableway near Sofia.

At last week's session of the joint Austrian-Bulgarian commission in Sofia, chaired by Bulgarian Foreign Trade Minister Khristo Khristov and Trade Minister Josef Staribacher, a long-term cooperation program covering the period until 1990 was discussed. To date, a comparable long-term agreement -- a 10-year cooperation program -- exists only with the Soviet Union. According to a Vienna Trade Ministry spokesman, Austria has succeeded in raising its exports to Bulgaria this year in the period January to August by 20 percent to 1.16 billion schillings.

COMMENTARY ON ZHIVKOV PEACE INITIATIVE

AU221525 Sofia BTA in English 1343 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Commentary by BTA observer Dimitur Shishmanov: "Remarkable Political Initiative"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) — A new political initiative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attracts now the attention in the Balkans, Europe and the world.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's top party and state leader, called on the leaders of the Balkan states to meet and discuss concrete joint moves for making the Balkan peninsula into a model region of goodneighbourliness, cooperation and peace.

The proposal for convocation of an all-Balkan top-level state and government meeting has been made for the first time by a government and state leader of a Balkan state.

The suggestion to carry out this initiative in Sofia as soon as possible renders it an operative, businesslike and practical character. It means an invitation for immediate consultations and talks between the governments of the Balkan states on the preparations, organization and fixing the exact date of the meeting.

Making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone is proposed as the key issue on the agenda of the meeting.

The Bulgarian leader has made this proposal in a moment of dangerous deterioration of the international situation, but also in a moment when the nuclear-free zones idea is gaining increasing popularity and support among the peoples and their governments.

The support to the idea of making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone, expressed on one or another occasion by the Soviet Union and most of the Balkan states, the recent backing it has received from the new prime minister of Greece, Mr Andreas Papandreou, in his election campaign, reaffirm how realistic the initiative of the Bulgarian state leader is. Undoubtedly the constructive foreign policy platform of Papandreou, comprising the idea of making the Balkans a nuclear-free zone, has contributed very much to the election victory of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and its leader. The changes in Greece are in favour of the realization of this idea.

Making the Balkans a zone free of nuclear weapons would be an event of universal and historical significance.

The idea of nuclear-free zones in different parts of Europe and the world be greatly inspired and encouraged by the Bulgarian example which may turn out to be the first step towards making Europe a continent free of nuclear weapons.

An important moment in the new initiative of the secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov, is the reaffirmed Bulgarian proposal for signing bilateral agreements with all the Balkan states, which will include a code of goodneighbourly relations and renunciation of territorial claims. The signing of such agreements is fully in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and would contribute greatly to discarding suspicions and to establishing trust among the Balkan states. The People's Republic of Bulgaria which consistently pursues a policy of goodneighborly relations and respect for the frontiers established in Europe after World War Two, proposes the adoption and solemn proclamation of this policy through special treaties by all the Balkan states.

The exceptionally wide and impressively prevailing positive reaction to the new Bulgarian political initiative in favour of peace, detente, security and cooperation in the Balkans is showing how timely, realistic, constructive and desirable it is not only for the Balkan region.

DZHUROV ISSUES ORDER ON AIR FORCE DAY

AU191525 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

["Text" of order of Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, on Bulgarian Air Force Day]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, cadets, sergeants and petty officers,

Comrade officers and generals,

Comrade pilots, navigating officers, engineers and technicians,

Comrade specialists, workers and employees of the air force system,

Comrade veterans of aviation,

Today our country's working people and their valiant armed defenders are festively celebrating Air Force Day.

The glorious anniversaries we marked this year -- the 25th anniversary of the BCP Central Committee April Plenum, the 90th BCP anniversary and the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state -- increase even more the festive nature of this holidary.

The creation, development and strengthening of the modern Air Force of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are closely connected with the versatile organizational and educational work of the BCP. Thanks to the permanent care of the BCP Central Committee and the personal care of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and with the invaluable assistance of the USSR and its armed forces, today the Bulgarian People's Army has a powerful air force equipped with the most modern equipment and composed of valiant patriots and internationalists, soldiers of high combat skill and indestructible spirit.

The Air Force of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is the heir of our people's glorious combat traditions. For already 13 centuries our people have been building their lives in this beautiful land, and have heroically defended their freedom and independence in numerous and cruel fights against the enemies.

A cosmic generation of pilots, who are worthily defending the honor of the first pioneers in using the airplane as a combat means, grew and was educated in our air force.

In the present complex and tense international situation, the air force soldiers clearly understand their great responsibility of defending our socialist motherland.

Mankind's peaceful achievements are being jeopardized by North American imperialism, its NATO allies and the Chinese hegemonists. Imperialism's most reactionary circles sharply escalated the arms race and exacerbated the confrontation with the socialist countries and the national liberation forces. They are fanning military conflagrations in various regions of the world and unceremoniously interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Imperialism continues its efforts to destroy the unity of the socialist community. The policy and actions of U.S. imperialism and the West's most aggressive circles are an overt danger for peace and security in Europe and the world. This requires the soldiers to constantly demonstrate high political and revolutionary vigilance, to constantly strengthen the country's defensive capability and to constantly increase the combat capability and combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army, of which the glorious air force is a part.

The soldiers with blue epaulets greet Air Force Day with deep political and working desire to put into effect the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. They report to the party and the people with increased combat skills, an increased number of class specialists, soldiers of outstanding achievements in combat and political training, and excellent crews, units and subunits. They greet their day closely rallied around the April line of the BCP Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and are ready to do their duty in defending the motherland and the cause of socialism, in unison with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries, led by the invincible Soviet Army.

Comrade soldiers, commanders, political workers, pilots, technicians and employees of the air force,

I greet you most cordially on 16 October -- Air Force Day -- and wish you good health, personal happiness, courage and new successes in the struggle for implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress on further increasing the troops' combat readiness and combat skill!

Be courageous and valiant soldiers, a reliable protector of our air and worthy heirs of our heroic people's military virtues.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

BRIEFS

DRAGOYCHEVA IN PAZARDZHIK -- In connection with the opening of the new party school year in Pazardzhik, a conference of the okrug propagandists and most active members was held in Pazardzhik. Tsola Dragoycheva was one of those attending this conference. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 81 AU]

SOVIET OFFICIALS VISIT LEADERS, REGIONS

Rohlicek Receives Borisov

LD230848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier, received at Hrzan Palace in Prague yesterday Lt Gen Grigoriy Borisov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, and Col Gen Karel Rusov, first deputy minister of national defense. During the meeting he paid tribute to the comradely relations between the Central Group of Soviet Forces and Czechoslovak bodies and organizations and the good mutual cooperation between Soviet forces and members of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Colotka, Lenart Receive Maltsev

LD222258 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Viktor Maltsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit, was received in Bratislava today by CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Peter Colotka, Slovak premier, as well as Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council. Comrade Maltsev paid homage to the memory of Soviet soldiers who had fallen while liberating Bratislava by placing flowers at their memorial in the Slavin cemetery.

CSCE Delegation in S. Bohemia

LD222034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The delegation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation headed by chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the Supreme Soviet, Aleksey Shitikov, arrived in Ceske Budejovice today for a visit. The Soviet guests acquainted themselves with the development of the South Bohemia Region during the period of the socialist construction and with its revolutionary past. Afterward they paid a visit to the Skoda Ceske Budejovice plant and met forestry workers from the South Bohemia Region.

RECENT POLISH DEVELOPMENTS DISCUSSED, ANALYZED

Prague TV Panel Discussion

LD221632 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech 1745 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Panel discussion on recent developments in the Polish situation, with Jan Lipavsky, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent; Pavel Kopecky, deputy editor of the main editorial office of Czechoslovak Radio and former radio correspondent in Warsaw; Zdenek Jirku, journalist from KVETY weekly; Milan Jelinek, RUDE PRAVO foreign-political commentator and unidentified moderator]

[Excerpts] [Lipavsky] At the Gdansk Solidarity congress there were a number of delegates who scandalized party members. Not a single party member present there -- and about 4 percent of the participants were party members -- spoke up. For this reason we approached the chairman of the primary party organization in the shipyard and asked him what he thought about it. We asked him how it was possible that communists did not defend communists. The answer was in fact an excuse: that these were young people and also that the party members had nothing to do with it since those who were being scandalized belonged to a different party organization. But I want to add one important thing. Not all party members react to events in this way, thank God; but alas, on the other hand, there are people in the party who react in the way just described.

Here it is necessary to emphasize one thing: If in the PZPR there are certain signs of deteatism, they do not occur in the entire party. Defeatism, or some elements of revisionism, were brought into the party from the outside. The party has not embarked on the revisionist course and does not advocate it. This is one point. Another -- in my view a very important one -- is the fact that that section of the party which has embarked upon positions which are either partly or totally those of the anti-Soviet and antisocialist forces is made up of people who are now toying with the idea of simply taking the positions of their class enemy. These people are even considering sharing power, that is, the leading role of the party, with other sections of society. More concretely, there is at the moment now a new, very fashionable idea that has emanated from the Solidarity congress, to set up a so-called national salvation government. It would include representatives of the episcopate, naturally the greater part of its members would be from Solidarity, there would also be some from other forces, and, maybe, the odd party member who has accepted this course and who could thus also be represented there.

[Unidentified journalist] I think it could be said that these people have totally lost the scientific Marxist view of reality. Class criteria do not exist for them. They are frequently asking us -- they have been asking us -- why talk about class criteria in Poland when there are only various social strata?

[Lipavsky] Yes, but, of course, this has its roots deep in the 1960s and, maybe, 1950s, when the PZPR [words indistinct] notoriously neglected ideological education.

[Moderator] Comrades, let us now deal with topical developments in the PZPR. A few days ago, the Fourth Central Committee Plenum ended. Comrade Lipavsky, what do you think about its conclusions?

[Lipavsky] I think that in such a comprehensive and difficult situation any cadre changes are welcomed if they aim at the actionability of the party and at the strengthening of its ideological, political and organizational unity. In my view this is the key to solving the entire crisis. The key to the Polish situation is in the party. If the party as a whole unanimously assumes Marxist-Leninist positions in this crisis -- and I feel strongly about this since I have spent quite a few years over there -- then the Polish people, the Polish working class, alone will be able to ensure the normalization of social life and the further development of socialism in Poland.

[Unidentified journalist] I would like to add that the critical voices heard at the plenum dealt with the same shortcomings, same problems, as those observed in the primary organization of the Gdansk shipyard, that is, opportunism and passivity.

[Unidentified journalist] Yes. The fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum also made it clear, through one of its decisions, that if the party is to be capable of action as we have just discussed, it must purge itself of those who hinder its ability to act along the unambiguous line of Marxism-Leninism. This is the first prerequisite, I think. Another very important prerequisite is for the bodies of people's power, the government and the Sejm, to take decisive steps against those who, a long time ago, brought Poland onto a very dangerous path, a path that could lead to catastrophe.

[Unidentified journalist] I would like to say just one thing. Of course, every session of the party Central Committee is important in such a country and in such a situation as we now have in Poland, but when we look at the documents of the PZPR Central Committee issued in 1980, then, with a few exceptions, we find nothing we could not agree with after all. Indeed, one could say that a lot of ideas from these documents could be chiseled in gold in the history of the international communist and workers' movement. And yet, the practice to date is or has been entirely different.

[Unidentified journalist] The party has been speaking up in its declarations against antisocialist forces, against endangering Poland's international alliance obligations.

[Unidentified journalist] We cannot say that the Polish party is short of good resolutions, but it needs decisiveness and consistency which, I think, the former party leadership, to a considerable extent, did not have, as has been pointed out by the Polish comrades themselves. For example -- and we heard this also from Jan Lipavski -- let us take the stance of the Warsaw city committee. (?The discussion mentioned such questions as) the lack of decisiveness on the part of the leadership to map a way out of the crisis.

[Unidentified journalist] And in that very same party there are many forces that have been pointing out for a long time that there is a discrepancy between words and actions, as illustrated by the Katowice Forum, by the newly established clubs aroung the RZECZYWISTOSC weekly.

[Unidentified journalist] The healthy forces need firm leadership.

[Unidentified journalist] Exactly, and they keep saying: We are willing to go into it, but there must be somebody willing to go into it with us, to lead us. This, apparently, was until now the main problem, the reason why, as Comrade Lipavsky has said, the party, not just in some cases but in the majority of cases, was finding itself at the tail of political events without being able to actively influence them.

[Kopecky] The situation in Poland is very complex. Comrade Lipavsky has mentioned this. We all daily read reports about the development of the crisis situation in Poland. But I would like to say that these pictures gave me quite a different impression, different idea, i.e. that what is at the moment being said by Solidarity is not totally true -- that in 36 years nothing has been done in Poland, which under the leadership of the PZPR has been in fact going back, stagnating. The statistical fact that Poland used to belong to the first 10 most industrialized countries of the world is never mentioned.

[Unidentified journalist] Why, then, the slanderous campaign trying to assert the view that nothing has been done in Poland in 36 years?

[Unidentified journalist] Well, this is one of the means of manipulating the public, saying -- look, the party has achieved nothing.

Solidarity is utilizing the present situation and tries to besmirch the PZPR and say: In 36 years they have done nothing. Look at the situation we are in; the national income is down by one third, the shops are empty. The shops are empty: I have never seen such empty shops as when, a few months ago, I visited Warsaw. I have never seen anything like that in all my life. The prices are high. This is a situation I can explain to myself but the Polish citizen now is more and more often asking questions: How is this possible? Why?

[Unidentified journalist] Yes, but one should add that in this case things are being mixed up quite intentionally. We also sometimes talk about the party but we have a very concrete idea as to who exactly that means. If that meant the whole party, then the critic would be absolutely right, but it is a lie since mistakes have been committed by some individuals in the party responsible for their offices. That is one thing. But those people who lead Solidarity, the vast majority of them, count on a certain political naivete of a part of Polish society and use their demagogy to state that not individuals but the whole regime, so to speak, is guilty, and the party above all. This is one thing.

The other is: Pavel has mentioned the drop in the national income. This has been a reality since the foundation of Solidarity, since 1980. Inflation of such an order has been a reality since 1980. The catastrophic shortage of basic foodstuffs in Poland, even of sanitary supplies, is also a reality. The fact that there is no coal, that there are fears as to what can be used for heating in the winter, even whether hospitals will have enough coal, and so on -- this all has been caused by the adventurous policy pursued by the leaders.

[Jirku] I realized in Poland what historical mistakes have been made. We have discussed modern Polish industry. We know that Poland really is a modern industrial country -- and yet this modern industry is in partnership with the farmer since the beginning of the century. The agricultural policy of the PZPR, unfortunately, has been very unsuccessful. It has had several stages. In 1956 almost 50 percent of the land was in socialist ownership but later the cooperatives and farms were dissolved and the private farmer was favored. The private farmer in Poland enjoys huge tax and other allowances; he is not obliged to deliver to the state as much as one kilogram of grain, a kilogram of meat. Naturally, in this situation the private farmer indulges in racketeering. He is not selling to the state but on the black market for much higher prices and thus tries to make those prices legal since he forces the government to raise the official procurement prices.

[Moderator] In other words, the political and economic crisis suits the private farmer.

[Jirku] It suits the private farmer. Yes, because, as Pavel has already said money is losing its value -- it is no longer an equivalent which is an interesting economic phenomenon not to be seen anywhere else in the world.

[Unidentified journalist] I would like to say one more thing on this theme. In one of the resolutions of the Katowice Forum a very interesting and telling notion appeared: private ownership is not just a political-economic problem but it is an ideological problem since -- and let us be Marxists and complete the notion -- private ownership breeds its own political stands and political ideology. While we have nothing against such individuals, they objectively play a role in society of people who cannot exist in socialism and who do not care about socialism. So this is the second consequence of the nonexistent agrarian reform which has never been carried out.

[Moderator] A very negative role is played by Rural Solidarity, which, just as Solidarity in industry, uses economic pressure.

[Unidentified journalist] Without the socialist sector -- and I wish to emphasize one important factor: without the Soviet Union and, why be humble, without certain other socialist countries -- there would actually be hunger in Poland. The Polish farmer, as you have already correctly stated, at the moment racketeers. His racketeering is simply aimed against the interests of the state, against the interests of the working class, because for years there has not been a real bond of farmers and workers.

[Unidentified journalist] Let me put it in one sentence. While the working class, through the medium of the party which is in the situation we have discussed, is not able to defend effectively and push through its class interests, its class enemies very systematically, openly and unscrupulously materialize their class interests.

[Moderator] I shall now read from a letter sent to the delegates to the Gdansk rally by Lane Kirkland, boss of the U.S. reactionary trade union center, AFL-CIO: Polish workers continue to teach the world. AFL-CIO is not going to tell you how to do things. You know best what to do. Let Polish history be made by Poles alone. Mr Kirkland has nicely played upon the feelings, especially the nationalistic feelings of the delegates. You got to know AFL-CIO well during your stay in the United States. Why did Kirkland want to say this?

[Unidentified journalist] Mr Kirkland was not right. Not for the first time: He is an experienced crusader for bourgeois policy, and saying untruths is a part of that policy. But in fact the opposite is the truth: Solidarity is an apprentice of the U.S. trade unions who are the teacher and who also act like one. They pay, finance and they help with vast financial aid which they are sending to Poland, to Solidarity. We shall talk about this in the "open platform," but above all they supply ideas. They have something to say, especially how to manipulate the membership basis in trade unions, how to control it, how to remove awkward leaders or competitors in the trade union movement, how to combat clashing tendencies, how to discipline the membership bases, and even, how to use violent means. Quite typical of the U.S. trade unions are those rough chaps, hired for a few dollars, to beat someone up. Indeed, these things do happen in Solidarity as we have heard. Solidarity is learning fast.

But the U.S. trade unions are just one factor in the vast stream of interference in Polish internal affairs, and they are not the most important one. There are more important ones still, more important organizations. More important is the fact that since the beginning of the crisis in Poland we have felt behind the actions of Solidarity someone else's hands which are skillful, experienced and truly professional: They belong to those people in Western subversive centers who perhaps took part in the events of 1956 in Hungary, in 1968 in our country, and who have come to their own conclusions following their defeats and the defeats of the counterrevolution and who now continue in Poland. They do it, maybe, more skillfully, cleverly, using new methods. The transformation of Solidarity from a trade union movement saying that it is interested only in the preservation of socialism into a political force which not has started the fight for power in Poland -- and openly started a fight for power -- has been successful (?although some stages may have met with resistance). Everything goes according to a plan, a scenario, drawn up somewhere in Munich or in secret centers of Western intelligence services. Working there are only agents -- experienced people, experts, historians, sociologists, psychologists -- who carry out research. Here is one interesting point -- note the following: Even in the most difficult periods of developments in Poland, in real crises, the Polish leaders of Solidarity have always found the time to travel abroad.

[Unidentified journalist] Thirty-two delegations have traveled abroad since last (?year) -- and where? Only to the West.

[Unidentified journalist] I want to say this. At a time when things are difficult, when Solidarity is afraid, when it has its problems, they travel abroad, they find the time for it. They go for a bit of advice.

[Unidentified journalist] When we assess, one after another, the speeches made by Solidarity leaders, then it seems that this trade union movement came into being very suddenly and quickly, that it still has its teething troubles, that it has difficulties. But Solidarity has no difficulties. Its progress is organized, purposeful and accurate. It times its actions. Solidarity knows the weaknesses of the Polish leadership. It knows the situation.

The point is that they have access to analyses which they are not making themselves. No, those are not made by electricians in Gdansk, or by the bosses of the trade unionism. They are receiving such analyses from other experts [words indistinct] since the counter-revolution is somewhere else -- abroad. So they receive and they follow accurately. At the congress in Gdansk we saw them deliberating with Western delegations on the theme: What next? What can we get away with next? Where is the limit to which we can push the Polish Government and communists? I think that this interference in Polish affairs -- (?and this has been much discussed in the world) -- this development which is being encouraged by the United States, especially the United States and the Western countries, can lead to dangerous consequences.

[Unidentified journalist] I think that from the Western point of view the things done by the West are very dangerous -- what the West is doing there, the imperialist circles, the military-economic complex.

[Unidentified journalist] The objective followed by the West, above all, is as great a destabilization as possible.

[Unidentified journalist] In my view, it is an open provocation of the entire socialist camp and of the Soviet Union, especially.

[Moderator] Thank you, comrades.

Implications for Marxism

AU211259 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 81 p 4

[Ladislav Tomasek article: "A Living and Inspiring Teaching; Unity of Marxist-Leninist Theory and Socialist Practice"]

[Excerpts] Marxism-Leninism analyzes the objective conditions of the historical process that determine the historic mission of the workers class and its revolutionary political movement, and, in organic unity with this, studies the practical application of its active role. On the one hand, we are waging a constant struggle against currents that try to separate those two aspects of our teaching, to pit Marx against Lenin and thus to weaken the credibility and vitality of Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, the spirit of this teaching prompts us to study at every historical moment how we adhere in reality to this principle, to the unity of the two aspects, to what extent we are making active use of it, and wherein we are violating it if that is the case. Excessive emphasis on objective conditions deprives us of the ability to take action, but underestimating the movement's determination by objective conditions leads to dangerous adventurism.

Practice constantly confirms that our attention must be permanently focused on key questions of Marxism-Leninism, on its revolutionary core. The alpha and omega of our teaching was, is and will be the question of the leading role of the workers class, its determination by economic conditions and the economic tasks linked with this. The intensification of the national economy does not abolish but, on the contrary, enhances the leading role of the workers class.

The experience of Poland shows that it is necessary to pay far more attention to a critical analysis of anarchosyndicalism, its class and intellectual roots, its manifestations and its role in the services of counterrevolution. Whereas in the sixties, counterrevolution in the socialist countries put its stakes mainly on the "elite" and regarded workers merely as a pliable, passive element, now it is turning to the workers class with the aim of demagogically confusing it. Using attractive slogans of social demagogy, it is trying to pit workers against their own state power, against the foundations of the socialist political system.

From this follows the lesson for us that we must occupy ourselves much more intensively with the participation of working people, and workers in particular, in production management according to the principles of democratic centralism.

Our enemies are trying to exploit to the maximum some economic problems that inevitably accompany the transition from an extensive to an intensive development of the economy. They are demagogically trying to instill in the minds of the public the notion that these problems are of a cyclical nature and the result of a mistaken economic system that lacks inner dynamics. These attacks should not remain unanswered. Equally, we should not remain silent to our enemies' attempts to "undermine the foundations" of our economy, to use their own words, with the help of the feverish armament unleashed by imperialist circles.

First of all, certain problems that we have do not recur cyclically but on a new, higher level as a natural product of powerful economic growth. They are rooted in the newness of tasks ensuing from the management of social work on a gigantic scale, in the newness of tasks yielded by the intensification process, in the complicated nature of the tasks solved by the socialist economy within broader historical, international political frameworks, under the conditions of the present international class struggle and world revolutionary process, and in the historically founded maturation process of the subjective factor.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist theory rests precisely in its openminded approach to questions posed by life, to its contradictions. It does not allow talking oneself into believing something that does not exist, requires one's participation in solving those contradictions, and, with the necessary headstart, the uncovering of deep-stated development trends that are behind these contradictions and at the same time their product. Despite all the complexities cropping up in the process of building socialism, this social system has the inside track, as does the world revolutionary process. World capitalism is on the defensive even though in partial battles it keeps attacking and has not given up the hope of implementing its global counterrevolutionary hegemonist efforts. However, the realistic optimism that is characteristic for us does not tolerate indifference, wavering and excuses for even the slightest shortcomings. It prompts mobilization to creative acts in both theory and practice.

Two Tasks in One

The development of the socialist society depends on an effective functioning of the political system. In this area, Marxism-Leninism faces two tasks in one: First -- in analysis of the political system as a whole and in its individual parts from the viewpoint of its optimal functioning and from the viewpoint of deepening its democratic nature; second -- in polemics against bourgeois and revisionist attacks and deformations, it is necessary to furnish evidence for the universal, permanent and international validity of the Leninist concept of the socialist political system. A perfect functioning of the political system is the most effective way of taking the wind out of the sails of hostile speculations and attempts to import [as published] to the socialist countries bourgeois political pluralism and to weaken the foundations of our political system. Great and permanent attention must be devoted in our theory to social organizations whose importance was underestimated in the sixties and considerably distorted by revisionists. The fact that between the transition period and the higher stage of communist socioeconomic structure there is a relatively long period of advanced socialism also changes the view on the role of social organizations in our life. It is an objective fact that even in advanced socialism the process of the transformation of a considerable part of the workers class, which constantly reproduces itself into a class "sui generis," continues. This process cannot obviate the need for the activity of trade unions and other social organizations led by the communist party.

The permanent process of raising the standard of the masses to the standard of their vanguard continues even in advanced socialism. Social organizations are indispensable in this process. Even in advanced socialism it is necessary to defend the working people's just interests, even though antagonistic differences have disappeared from the scene. Yet nonantagonistic differences persist and the social organizations' participation is absolutely necessary to overcome them. Their role in harmonizing group and individual interests with all-social interests is also indispensable.

The counterrevolutionary activity of Walesa's trade unions in Poland represents a grave warning to us and an impetus to profoundly acquire correct Marxist-Leninist criteria concerning this important issue and to creatively develop and apply them in practice, to enable the masses to recognize themselves the Walesa trade unions' false message.

Even under socialism the principle remains valid that society raises only those problems that have become ripe for solution. Even advanced socialism does not completely eliminate the lagging of a part of social awareness behind social being. However, at the same time it is necessary to purposefully develop the process of the theory's appropriate headstart over practice, the headstart of awareness over being, and study the conditions and mechanisms of the processes in achieving this.

No urgent question should remain unanswered. That will also be positively reflected in the masses' activity. That applies also to ideological questions because they, too, touch on the masses' vital needs and prospects in life.

Walesa's Lack of Education

AU201937 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 81 p 5

["IH"-signed article: "A Man Who Does Not Read"]

[Text] About a year ago, Lech Walesa (he is 39) admitted to a French woman journalist that he has not read a single book in his life. The editorial office of one popular Polish weekly has now reacted wittily to that. It has organized a public discussion on the theme: "What book would you recommend that Walesa read?" From various people in Poland and abroad came, obviously, very different answers. Some answers were serious, others suggested symbolism or a relevant point [situacni pointa], and others revealed their own favorite books.

The discussion also fulfilled an objective other than the original. Many participants lifted the veil from their cultural and educational level, and some even revealed their antisocialist views. For example, Edward Lipinski, one of the founders of the antistate KOR organization, suggested that Walesa read the book entitled "Goodbye Proletarians!" Zbigniew Iwanow, the organizer of the so-called horizontal structures of the party setup, today already expelled from the PZPR, could not let go without an anti-Soviet provocation. Jan Rulewski -- who this spring occupied the voivodship national council building in Bydgoszcz with his commando group and during the so-called action "two days without newspapers" shouted from the inside of a car equipped with loudspeakers to the inhabitants of the city not to read newspapers when they were published despite "Solidarity's" opposition -- remained true to his favorite book called "The Study of Tyranny." Other correspondents, however, understood the purpose of the discussion and realized that the chief of the reactionary "trade unions" has "catastrophic gaps in his education" -- the quote introducing this discussion. Therefore they were offering him, for example, the "History of the Workers Movement" for study, the "Communist Manifesto" and other works by the founders of scientific socialism. Of belles lettres, the works of those Polish classicists who depicted the revolutionary struggle of the people against the nobility, bourgeoisie and reactionary church were suggested -- for example, several books by Boleslaw Prus, "After Bread" by Maria Konopicka, and "The Promised Land" by Wladyslaw Raymont, who describes the shameless chase of capitalists after profits and the beginnings of the proletariat's awareness in industrial Lodz.

It is really a sad thing that this witty discussion had to be organized. However, Walesa's lack of education comes in handy to some intellectuals. They suggested that he continue reading nothing, because books would allegedly "destroy his unique value."

What value could it be? -- As Gorki said: "Tell me what you read and I will tell you what kind of a person you are." But Mr Walesa, doctor honoris causa of two Western universities, has contempt for books and brags that he will remain just a "plain fox."

FURTHER ON LIBYA'S AT-TURAYKI'S VISIT 13-19 OCT

Luncheon Speeches Noted

AU211720 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Oct 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Libyan Guest Received; The Achieved Level of Mutual Relations Assessed"]

[Text] Prague, 14 Oct (CTK) -- [CSSR Foreign Affairs] Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek gave a luncheon in honor of 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki [secretary for liaison of foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah], which was attended by CSSR Deputy Premier Matej Lucan; by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and by other personalities.

In short speeches, the two counterparts expressed satisfaction with the course of the talks which are being held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and marked by identity of views.

They rejected the policy of increasing tension, feverish armament, confrontation and international terrorism, to which the U.S. administration resorts, and stressed Czechoslovakia's and Libya's efforts aimed at strengthening international cooperation. They emphasized that the two countries are linked by the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid, and by support for the national liberation struggle and rights of nations for self-determination. They also recalled the importance of cooperation between the countries of the socialist community and the states of the Steadfastness Front.

The luncheon was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Report on Visit

AU211942 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Press Report on the Stay of A.A.S. at-Turayki in the CSSR; Continuous Development of Relations With Libya"]

[Text] Prague, 19 Oct (CTK) -- At the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, paid an official friendly visit to the CSSR on 13-19 October 1981.

During his stay in the CSSR he was received by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal.

The two representatives discussed the current state and prospects for the development of mutual relations. They noted with pleasure that the meering last September between Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, markedly contributed to further deepening friendly cooperation between the CSSR and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

They devoted particular attention to issues pertaining to the expansion of political contacts on all levels. They exchanged views on the prospects of economic cooperation and expressed bilateral interest in its further deepening. They expressed the conviction that it is necessary to anchor the higher level of relations also in the contractual-legal sphere, and agreed that a more marked cooperation between social organizations and cooperation in the cultural sphere should contribute to the further drawing closer together of the people of the two countries.

The two representatives exchanged views on the most important issues of the current international situation. They expressed their conviction that ensuring peace in the world remains the main task. They paid particular attention to the crisis in the Middle East and expressed concern over the military activity unfolded by the United States around Egypt, which they regard as an inadmissible interference in its internal affairs and a threat to peace and security in the entire Middle East region. They emphasized that the Egyptian people have the full right to and are capable of resolving their internal affairs without foreign interference. In this respect the two parties fully identify with the declaration of the Soviet Government of 11 October 1981. They noted with uneasiness the deterioration of the situation in this region as a consequence of the imperialist forces' increased aggressiveness. They affirmed the positions of their two countries that the solution of the crisis is impossible without the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and without asserting the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish an independent Palestinian state.

The two sides agree that it is necessary to strengthen the relations of friendly cooperation and alliance between the countries of the socialist community and the progressive Arab national liberation forces, a d closely coordinate their struggle against the policy of world imperialism.

The two representatives also exchanged views on the situation in Europe, and expressed the conviction that positive results of the Madrid meeting would contribute to strengthening detente in Europe in the Spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

The talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and A.A.S. at-Turayki, secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, thanked Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, for the cordial reception and invited him to pay a visit to Libya. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

LATEST CHARTER 77 LETTER TO AUTHORITIES

WA231000 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 6 Oct 81 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Charter 77: Profound Crisis Developing in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Prague -- Spokesman for Charter 77 have sent a letter to the Czechoslovak authorities asking them to stop the repression against organized dissidence and to release political prisoners.

In the letter, a copy of which was sent to Western sources yesterday, Charter 77 asserts that the indiscriminate suppression of dissidents cannot avoid a crisis in Czechoslovakia like the one occurring in Poland. "We want to emphasize," the letter affirms, "that, as the Polish authorities are well aware, the crisis has been caused by the longstanding problems which have not been justly resolved and which have been ignored for years by the government and other authorities."

According to Charter 77, similar problems also exist in the Czechoslovak society, such as for example "mediocre and inefficient leadership bodies, lag in technology, insufficient respect for the interests and opinions of the workers, poor quality of services, corruption in many sectors which has reached incredible levels, and rapid deterioration of the standard of living."

"In order to really resolve these problems," the letter concludes, "it is necessary, according to us, to appeal to the responsibility and to the spirit of initiative of the citizens rather than attempt to suppress and to persecute those in nonconformist circles who attempt to influence the leadership's choices."

In reporting the contents of the letter, an ANSA dispatch revealed that since the beginning of the Polish crisis more than a year ago, the efforts of the Czechoslovak authorities to suppress organized dissidence, essentially referring to Charter 77 and to clandestine literary centers, have increased.

Leaders of the human rights movement, like the historian Rudolf Battek, have been sentenced to severe prison terms while others, such as the former foreign minister Jiri Hajek, are awaiting trial for "subversion."

HUSAK CHAIRS STATE CONFERENCE OF PARTY HEADS

LD222014 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Today, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired a statewide conference of heads of CPCZ regional and city committees in Prague and Bratislava.

The meeting, which took place in Prague, was attended by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The conference discussed topical questions of the party's work in implementing the fulfillment of 1981 tasks, preparation of the 1982 state National Economic Plan and work yet to be done on drafting the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

FOJTIK ADDRESSES PRAGUE RADIO OFFICIALS

LD221822 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, conferred in Prague today with leading officials of Czechoslovak Radio about the realization of the tasks arising for broadcasting from the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. He singled out the need to improve the quality of economic broadcasting and current affairs programs and propaganda in keeping with the principal directions of our society's development. Radio journalism must strive, among other things, to mirror at a high political and professional level the perspectives of our socialist construction, explain the profound transformations taking place in the country's economic development and also note ways to eliminate shortcomings. Another task is to promote the necessary change in economic thinking among our public and thus to effectively help working people to understand party policy and win them over to this policy.

HOFFMAN ADDRESSES TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

LD221456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] At the close of the 13th Central Council of Trade Unions Plenum, a resolution was adopted on assessing trade union finances from the point of view of the usefulness and effectiveness of their utilization and, on the basis of the findings reached, on the further orientation of trade unions' financial resources.

Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, pointed out in his closing speech that long-term assessment of the management of trade union finances enables trade unionists and the entire society to see that the Central Council of Trade Unions is fully aware of its responsibility for the utilization of that part of the membership fee which is paid into the joint fund by primary organizations. He noted tht the greater part of the trade union financial resources -- in various forms and means -- goes back to members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and their families.

Comrade Karel Hoffman described as very urgent the trade unionists' contribtuion to solving economic problems and to the fulfillment of the national economic development plan. He appealed to trade union bodies to immediately discuss with the working people and their economic partners concrete and effective measures for ensuring the planned tasks. He also dealt with the improvement of trade union activity.

RUDE PRAVO EMPHASIZES PARTY CRITICISM

AU212115 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The Starting Point and the Way Out"]

[Excerpts] It has been almost 10 months now since the principles of the perfected system of the economy's planned management have gone into effect. The rules of the Set of Measures oblige us to search for new ways to develop the economy; that is, to make much better use of expensive raw materials in the top-of-the-line products, conserve diesel oil and gasoline, not waste kilowatts of electricity, avoid shortcomings in management and organizational work, in remuneration, and other errors.

It has been said many times already that what is involved is not some sort of mechanical introduction of the given directives, but a new, creative approach to resolving our national economy's problems. But some ranking personnel, after having deciphered these words, interpret the creative approach in their own way. For example, they simply ignore the principles laid down and postpone their implementation ad infinitum. Without batting an eye, they ignore the fact that their enterprise or plant produces rejects, that the work time is not being observed, that egalitarianism in remuneration is rampant, and that all types of energy are being wasted. There are even such persons who, when it comes to detailing the tasks of the plan, continue to adhere to the slogan: haggle down whatver you can! And then they shamelessly demand more and more raw and other materials for demanding objectives. They could not care less that these will be lacking somewhere else. Society take care of yourself as well as you can!

However, this is a downright antiparty and antisocialist attitude which no communist must tolerate.

The members' meetings of the primary organizations are the place where communists deal with such cases. Of course, not in every primary organization of the CPCZ does one speak openly and critically. There are still some primary organizations whose members' meetings -- this important instrument for activating and unifying communists' views -- are not being properly made use of. Not that the committees of the CPCZ primary organizations would not convene meetings. In the absolute majority they are organized quite regularly, but their outcome -- thanks to the fact that the agenda is sometimes agreed on only a few minutes before the meeting starts, that a report on the committee's activity is not submitted, that there is no objective information available about the political situation in the enterprise or workshop, that resolutions are adopted containing dozens of points addressed to no one in particular [neadresne body] and uncontrollable, and that no one responds to suggestions and reacts to recommendations -- equals zero.

There also are instances of yard-long and difficult to understand reports by economic personnel being submitted to the members of the CPCZ primary organizations -- without any stance from the committee. And on such reports a discussion is even started, but instead of a discussion a long and embarrassed silence follows. How is one to express himself to something that looks rather like a statistic of difficulties, complaints and even excuses? How is one to discuss outlined problems when broader political contexts are not known, contexts which should precisely include the stance of the CPCZ primary organization's committee?

But the submitted economist's reports are not only involved. The quality of the members' meeting and of the discussion also influence whether members' suggestions will be dealt with on time and with all due consequences. This is very important political work, leading, without any exaggeration, to strengthening the party's unity, and increasing the activity of communists and their ties with the working people. Therefore those who do not deal with suggestions on time and in a principled manner must be strictly called to account by the party.

The discussion at members' meetings -- especially in the production sphere -- is characterized by the endeavor of CPCZ members and candidate members to ensure production's demands. Today the economy is the main battlefield on which one fights not only for tangible results but also for the minds of the people, for their new approaches to resolving problems and difficulties, where one combats indolence, slovenliness and the tendency to speculate. In a whole number of primary organizations communists are able to critically draw attention to the consequences of erroneous decisions of those in charge, and very specifically and concretely to poor work of others. On the other hand, however, there are party organizations -- above all those associating communists from the management of enterprises, from institutions, offices, ministries and others -- where comradely criticism is rather rare and in very general terms. As a result it is not surprising that we still come across a considerable dose of conciliation and excusing the shortcomings of communist-ranking personnel, who are only rarely subject to party punishment [stranicky postihovat]. The members of these organizations must be reminded with all urgency that being unnecessarily, disproportionately considerate toward various authorities is definitely out of place. On the contrary, it causes political harm, because it prevents adopting measures aimed at the speediest possible rectification.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC INCENTIVES DISCUSSED -- An internatinal consultation on problems connected with economic incentives began in Bratislava on 13 October. The consultation, sponsored by the Bratislava Institute for Management in Cooperation with the Moscow International Scientific-Research Institute for Management Problems, is being attended by representatives of corresponding insitutes and organizations from Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and the CSSR. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 81 p 2 AU]

TALKS WITH POLAND ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS HELD

AU221319 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Warsaw (ADN) -- "On 19 and 20 October 1981 in Warsaw, the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the GDR and the Polish People's Republic and chairmen of the joint GDR-Polish People's Republic Economic Commission, Gerhard Weiss and Andrzej Jedynak, discussed the level and the further development of economic and scientific-technological relations between the two countries." At the consultations which, were held to prepare the protocol on the mutual goods deliveries in 1982, questions of goods exchange in the fields of fuels and the metal processing and the chemical industries were also discussed. The consultations were attended on the GDR side by Horst Soelle, GDR minister of foreign trade; Heinz Klopfer, state secretary in the State Planning Commission; and Horst Neubauer, GDR ambassador to Poland. On the Polish side the participants were St. Tuszewski, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Polish Council of Ministers, and W. Gwiazda, undersecretary of state of foreign trade. Gerhard Weiss and Heinz Klopfer also met with Z. Madej, Council of Ministers chairman.

POLISH SOLIDARITY 'PROVOCATIONS' SCORED

LD222020 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 22 Oct 81

["Solidarity Wants To Create Further Unrest -- Ban on Wroclaw Meetings After Provocation"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (ADN) -- Although the news of the election of Army General Jaruzelski as PZPR Central Committee first secretary was well received by the citizens of People's Poland, Solidarity is continuing to attempt to prevent a return to an orderly life. As PAP reports, the wave of strikes is continuing in Poland. The Solidarity-organized strikes are aimed against the results of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Thus Solidarity organized a demonstration in Wroclaw's Pafawag plant in which a resolution was passed which demanded as an ultimatum that there be a revision [presumably of the plenum results] before the strike was called off. PAP writes: "This development confirms that the protest organizers are to escalate the tension."

In Tarnow Voivodship the local Solidarity leaders tried to influence state affairs when they demanded the instatement of a voivoda of their choice. In Krosno Voivodship Solidarity also demanded the replacement of the voivoda and his three deputies. Rural Solidarity functionaries in Bydgoszcz Voivodship have called on the peasants to stop paying taxes to the state. Strikes were also provoked by Solidarity in the voivodships of Torun, Konin and Tarnobrzeg.

After a major provocation by Solidarity, all public gatherings have been banned until further notice in Wroclaw Voivodship. Late on Wednesday afternoon a group of Solidarity troublemakers had started a mass demonstration in the center of Wroclaw and had declaimed antistate slogans through a megaphone. Forces of the militia dispersed the demonstrators and arrested eleven people. Preliminary investigations were started against four of those arrested. Thereupon, Solidarity's leadership provoked a strike on Thursday of Wroclaw's municipal transport enterprises.

HONECKER RECEIVES SOVIET MINISTER SHCHELOKOV

LD221232 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1140 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Army Gen Nikolay Shchelokov, USSR minister for internal affairs and member of the CPSU Central Committee, for a talk in Berlin today.

Nikolay Shchelokov conveyed fraternal greetings from Leonid Brezhnev, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker with great warmth.

They both expressed their deep satisfaction that the close solidarity of the security organs of the two countries is constantly being strengthened for their mutual benefit.

In view of the exacerbation of the international situation and the threat to peace from the most aggressive imperialist forces, the deepening of fraternal and friendly cooperation acquires increasing importance. It is an important guarantee that members of the German People's Police and the Soviet Militia will achieve even better results in implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress for the well being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

The exchange of views, which was held in an atmosphere os solidarity and full agreement, was also attended by Friedrich Dickel, GDR interior minister and chief of the German People's Police, and by Soviet Ambassador Petr Abrasimov.

KURT HAGER RECEIVES CPSU CULTURAL DELEGATION

AU?11758 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Kurt Hager Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received for discussion a study delegation of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by Vasiliy Filimonovich Shauro, Central Committee candidate member and head of the Department for Culture of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in the Central Committee building on Monday, Kurt Hager briefed the guests on the successful implementation of the 10th SED Congress decisions in the field of culture. The partners in the talk discussed tasks of further deepening cultural cooperation between the two fraternal parties and states. During its GDR visit, the CPSU study delegation will meet leading artists and cultural representatives in Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig, and will visit cultural institutions in these cities.

The talk, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Ursula Ragwitz, SED Central Committee member and head of the Department of Culture of the SED Central Committee, and P. A. Abrasimov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

LEADERS GREET BULGARIAN LEADERS ON ANNIVERSARY

AU220914 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council Chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram of congratulations to Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman of the Bulgarian Peoole's Republic, and Grisha Filipov, Council of Ministers chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, we convey to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and to all working people of the Bulgarian People's Republic the most fraternal greetings and best wishes of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and all GDR working people.

The heroic resistance of the Bulgarian people against social injustice, exploitation and serfdom continued for centuries. Eminent cultural figures created masterpieces characterizing the national heritage and enriching the world culture. The creative work, the bold actions and the great sacrifices of all true patriots and burning internationalists of that time have forever taken their places in the history of the struggle for a new Bulgaria.

Thanks to the heroic liberation by the glorious Soviet Army and as a result of the struggle of the best sons and daughters of Bulgaria against fascism and reaction, the decisive historic change, the victory of the socialist revolution, took place on Bulgarian soil nearly 40 years ago.

Since then the fraternal Bulgarian people under the leadership of their Communist Party have achieved important, internationally recognized successes in alliance with all forces of world socialism. Thus, the dreams, the desire and the striving of the great vanguard of today's generations have become a living reality.

Firmly allied by our ideology, Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the internationalist legacy of the unforgotten comrades, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and Georgi Dimitrov, our parties, states and peoples will continue to successfully advance together along the way of socialism on the basis of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the 12th BCP Congress.

We wish you, dear comrades, health, creative vigor and personal well-being.

NIER TALKS WITH U.S. CONGRESSMEN IN WASHINGTON

AU211746 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Washington (ADN) -- In connection with the consultations on bilateral and topical international questions between the GDR Foreign Ministry and the U.S. Department of State, Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, met for talks with Zablocki, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, and with other members of both houses of Congress. Kurt Nier outlined the GDR policy for preserving peace, ending the arms race and for disarmament, by proceeding away from aggravation of the international situation with the policy of intensified armament. He said that the GDR hopes and expects that the negotiations between the USSR and the United States on questions of arms limitation, starting in Geneva on 30 November 1981, will achieve positive results.

STATE DEMANDS EXTRADITION IN FATAL ESCAPE CASE

AU211944 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- The GDR insists on its demand for the extradition of the murderer of Ulrich Steinhauer, Egon Bunge, who fled to West Berlin. On 4 November 1980 Bunge had premeditatedly and perfidiously shot and killed GDR Border Trooper Ulrich Steinhauer, who was on duty at the state border with Berlin (West). GDR Prosecutor General Josef Streit had repeatedly demanded from the West Berlin judicial authorities concerned the immediate extradition of the murderer to the GDR.

After the GDR extradition requests, to which extensive evidence was attached, had been rejected by the West Berlin judiciary in disregard of international legal norms, the West Berlin public prosector found himself compelled by the evidence supplied from the GDR to bring Bunge to trial in a Berlin (West) court. This court has now sentenced the murderer to merely 6 years imprisonment.

This sentence, which mocks law and justice, has caused astonishment even in West Berlin judicial circles.

FRG SOCIALIST YOUTH DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU211754 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- At the conclusion of a several-day visit to the GDR Hans Kluthe, deputy national chairman of the Socialist German Workers Youth (SDAJ), on Friday in Berlin paid tribute to the secured prospects of the GDR youth. This aspect had become clear to him, he said, during meetings of the delegation headed by him with young people in various FDJ basic organizations. The SDAJ, he added, sees its current primary task in making an all-out effort to further increase the FRG youth's readiness for actions aimed at safeguarding peace, and against the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in the FRG and other West European countries.

Helga Labs, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, briefed the SDAJ delegation about the widely varied efforts of GDR youth within the framework of the "FDJ Mandate 10th Party Congress" to make a worthy contribution toward strengthening socialism and thus toward safeguarding peace.

NAUMANN-LED SED DELEGATION VISITS CONGO

Talks With Labor Party

AU211738 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Brazzaville (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee delegation which is currently visiting the People's Republic of Congo and headed by Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, continued its political talks in Brazzaville on Saturday. A meeting with Lekoundzou-Itihi Ossestoumba, Congolese Labor Party [PCT] Central Committee Politburo member and minister of finance of the People's Republic of Congo, centered on questions of economic planning and the struggle for the economic independence of this African country. In the People's Republic of Congo the first long-term economic plan for 1982-86 is being worked out.

A talk with Camille Bongou, Central Committee member and general secretary of the office of the PCT Central Committee chairman, offered the opportunity to conduct an exchange of experiences on the development of relations between the SED and PCT. Konrad Naumann conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman. Camille Bongou praised the close cooperation between the two parties and expressed thanks for support in developing the PCT.

Talks Continue

AU221331 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Brazzaville (ADN) -- On Tuesday the SED Central Committee delegation headed by Konrad Naumann, Central Committee Politburo member, continued its talks in the People's Republic of Congo with an exchange of experiences on the work of the SED and the Congolese Labor Party [PCT] with Jean-Pierre Thystere-Tchicaya, PCT Central Committee Politburo member. The delegation then visited Pointe-Noire to hold talks with the party leadership of this important economic region of the country. During a visit to the Cuvette region, the delegation had friendly meetings with PCT functionaries.

Sassou-Nguesso Receives Naumann

LD222324 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Brazzaville 22 Oct (ADN correspondent) -- Denis Sassou-Nguesso chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor (PCT) and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, today received a SED Central Committee delegation led by Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. Konrad Naumann transmitted a personal message from Erich Honecker general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

President Sassou-Nguesso underlined that cooperation between both states, parties and peoples is increasing in importance in the face of the aggravation of the international situation. The People's Republic of the Congo has the firm political will to further expand this cooperation. He emphasized the agreement of views in the most important questions of securing peace and of the joint fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. Konrad Naumann affirmed the solidarity of the GDR with the peoples of Africa who are fighting against neocolonialist exploitation and racism.

An agreement on cooperation between the SED and the PCT was also signed today. The agreement envisages further deepening the long-standing fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation which are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both sides confirm in this their resolve "to intensify their joint efforts in the fight for social progress and against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, for the preservation of world peace and for arms limitation and disarmament." They also noted the continued development of the close and friendly relations between both governments and the fruitful cooperation between both states on the basis of anti-imperialist solidarity and mutal benefit.

At the conclusion of the talks between the SED and PCT delegations, both sides expressed their concern about the international situation which is being aggravated by imperialism. Both sides confirmed their active solidarity in the fight against anti-communism and the subversive manipulations of imperialism, which are aimed at destabilizing the progressive regimes in Africa and in the world.

The delaying tactics of South Africa and its imperialist allies which are directed against Namibia's independence were rejected. Both sides sharply condemned South African racist aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

The SED delegation ended its visit today.

HEALTH COOPERATION PLAN SIGNED WITH KAMPUCHEA

LD222302 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1906 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 22 Oct (ADN) -- A health cooperation plan for the years 1982-83 was signed in Berlin today by the GDR health minister, Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger and Kampuchea Health Ministe Dr Vit Kim Seng. The plan envisages an exchange of experiences in the spheres of running and organizing the health service, hygiene and in fighting infectious diseases.

The GDR will support the development of the health service in Kampuchea by sending doctors, helping in the training and further education of cadres, and by providing teaching materials and medicines.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NEIR VISITS NORWAY

AU221328 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Oslo (ADN) -- On Tuesday Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, had a talk with Svenn Stray, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Norway. The two sides stressed the importance of continuing the political dialogue and deepening the good-neighborly relations and praised the continuous development of bilateral relations between the two countries. "Kurt Nier stressed that the GDR together with its allies will make every effort to contribute to strengthening peace by ending the arms race and eliminating the danger of nuclear war." Kurt Nier is in Oslo for consultations with Tom Vraalsen, general director fo the Norwegian Foreign Ministry.

SOCIALIST EDUCATION MINISTERS MEET IN BERLIN

AU211924 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Today the fourth conference of the ministers for public education of socialist countries starts in Berlin. Thus the GDR as host continues the regular meetings of the ministers, which were started in the USSR in 1975. Previous conferences were also held in the People's Republic of Bulgaria in 1977 and in the Hungarian People's Republic in 1979. They dealt with questions of communist education of the school youth, polytechnical education and labor education and the role of Marxist-Leninist education.

The fourth conference in Berlin has the main subject: "The Teacher and the Socialist School of the Present." During the 4-day consultations the participants will report on topical questions of the development of public education in their countries, and exchange experience. In addition, the program includes bilateral talks in various educational institutes and a visit to the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Palace.

HONECKER ADDRESSES MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATES

LD192010 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Berlin, 19 Oct (ADN) -- In a toast for graduates of military academies, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of State and National Defense Council, said that he was delighted to meet the graduates of military academies at this reception. On behalf of the party and state leadership he praised the results achieved by the graduates in their studies. "They reflect a successful and exacting course of study undertaken by over 450 officers, most of them college trained, as a higher stage of their education." He wholeheartedly congratulated them and added: "Exemplary feats are achieved only by personal dedication, diligence and perseverance in mounting the heights of science. This is how you regarded your studies and acted accordingly. For this I thank you."

He continued: "As you know, we need a powerful will to perform and highly effective work everywhere in developing our advanced socialist society and giving it reliable military protection. Only thus shall we successfully implement the high aims set by the 10th SED Congress for the benefit of our people. Workers, cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia, every worker and soldier of our socialist fatherland bear an important responsibility for social progress and safeguarding peace. This has been highlighted by a world situation aggravated by imperialism.

"Vladimir Ilich Lenin described the Great Socialist October Revolution 64 years ago as the 'first triumph on the road of abolishing wars.' Ever since Soviet working people and soldiers have consistently pursued this path with heroism, bearing vast privations and sacrifices. They turned a backward country into the world's most advanced and powerful socialist state. They withstood the onslaught of Hitler's armies, liberated Europe from the fascist yoke and enabled the German people to build a new life.

"In founding the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil, we used this tremendous chance. That was a truly historic turning point in the history of Europe.

"In the shape of the glorious Soviet Army and Navy, its strategic rocket troops, up-to-date air defense and other services, the USSR working people and soldiers under CPSU leadership forged the iron shield that has protected socialism and peace for decades. It threatens no one. But it is insuperable for those imperialist forces that seek world domination and want to doom mankind to a nuclear inferno."

He added: "The real dangers to the world come from the policy of confrontation and arms build-up by NATO, particularly by the United States. They come from the fact that Western statesmen who can already order the use of tens of thousands of nuclear warheads with a destructive power equal to many billions of tons of explosives want to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. They will never succeed. But it heightens the danger of a nuclear inferno.

"Forty years ago imperialist adventurers tried to turn back the wheel of history. Everyone knows how that ended. Clearly certain imperialist politicians and military arms buildup weigh heavily upon the nations. The U.S. Government proposes to spend over $1.5 billion in the years ahead on a gigantic arms program. By introducing several novel weapons systems such as new intercontinental missiles, strategic bombers and medium-range missiles, cruise missiles and neutron weapons, it opens another round of the arms race.

"Even in the imperialist states a growing number of people in all classes and walks of life feel deeply anxious about peace and the future of mankind. They are affected by the insensate arms plans and the billions of tax revenue that are being squandered. They are increasingly determined to prevent the nuclear inferno of a third world war.

That is why they protest against the proposed deployment of new American medium-range missiles and neutron warheads in Western Europe. The recent big demonstrations in Washington and Bonn show the powerful surge of the will for peace.

"As GDR citizens we feel respect and sympathy for these courageous people. Nor can it be otherwise. For our policy of limiting arms and controlled general disarmament, banning means of mass destruction and renouncing the initial use of military force serves the cause of peace and detente. It is only in peace that we can successfully continue our economic and social policy and that our people can reap the fruit of their labor."

Turning to the graduates, Erich Honecker said: "Your profession is held in high esteem in our society. The way that the soldier of socialism thinks and acts was convincingly shown at the 10th SED Congress. Your dedication in giving your best in the struggle for peace is admired by our people, our allies, the international communist and workers' movement.

"Our army, led by the sons of workers, is fulfilling alongside the glorious Soviet Army and the other socialist armies a just mission. The National People's Army of the GDR draws its political and moral credentials from deep historical sources. It implements the legacy of the revolutionary German workers movement, anti-fascists, the humanist forces of our people, by reliably protecting socialism and the peaceful lives of our people.

"You will, I am sure, honorably fulfill your high responsibility, you will never stop learning, learning from the findings of military science and from day to day political and military events. In this spirit I wish all members of the National People's Army and of the other armed organs, above all you, dear comrade graduates, much success in fulfilling your military class-based mission, good health and happiness in your private lives."

Present at the reception were Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, other members and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany, Col Gen Ivan Gubin, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic, Maciej Wirowski, and the Polish military attache in the GDR, Col Henryk Szymanski.

MITTAG ATTENDS DEFENSE MINISTRY MEETING

LD212200 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Guenter Mittag believes that the bold and optimistic tasks set by the 10th SED Congress have already released new, great forces among the working class and the entire people. During a meeting of leading officials at the Ministry of Defence, Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee pointed out that with the elaboration of the economic strategy for the 1980's the necessary start for the realization of the unity of economic and social policy has been made in good time.

The party is unswervingly continuing its course, which is aimed at the well-being of the people, the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace. In this way all that has been achieved will be preserved and the future progress of the GDR will be ensured.

CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES IN KARL-MARX-STADT

AU211736 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- Over the weekend, forces of the civil defense in cooperation with public health and special forces of the communal enterprises trained in rescue, salvage and repair operations in districts of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk.

A total of 19 districts were included in the exercises. "Leading organs and task forces of the civil defense exercised the correct action in case of emergency, together with Cottbus residents."

FDGB'S ROEDER COMMENTS ON UPCOMING TU ELECTION

DW201146 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1938 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Helmut Hartung interview with Erich Roeder, deputy chairman of the Berlin District FDGB Executive Board -- recorded in the studio]

[Excerpts] [Question] The trade union elections are just 2 weeks away. What is important in these elections and on what should the shop stewards concentrate? Which issues should be in the center of the elections in general and in the group elections in particular?

[Answer] What is most important now is that all full-time and unpaid members of executive boards and managements directly help prepare these elections in the trade union groups. it is our view that five ideological questions, above all, should form the center of attention. First, the good balance which each work collective can strike should be derived everywhere from the fact that the forces of peace and socialism have further strengthened and that they have developed into an immense force on the international level.

Secondly, no trade union group must ignore the aggressiveness of the policy of arms buildup by NATO in general and U.S. imperialism in particular. It is not enough to protest against the criminal policy. The best reply rather is the all-round strengthening of our republic, including the contribution of each collective to home defense.

Thirdly, proceeding from the level of plan fulfillment attained, all trade union groups must discuss ways of further enhancing the plan lead and of reducing backlogs wherever they have been incurred. It should be a matter of honor to every work collective that the 1981 plan will be fulfilled in all categories and that the 1982 plan will be well prepared everywhere.

Fourthly, in any event the reports delivered by the shop stewards should contain an assessment as to how the state managers, under active participation of the trade unions, make an effort daily for the best possible working and living conditions.

Fifthly and finally, proper attention must be paid to the internal trade union life in the groups to which the other group functionaries such as the cultural affairs and social affairs stewards, the job safety commissioner and the sports organizer must contribute considerably as well. Problems worthy of discussions include the content and course of the membership meetings, prompt membership-fee payment and regular solidarity contributions.

[Question] The bestworker conference has found differences in performance which exist and which must be overcome.

[Answer] Exactly. It is for this very reason that we believe that it is highly important in the continuation of the competition drive in the capital to insure everywhere that the preconditions be created daily for everyone to be able and willing to work with a good balance sheet every day.

[Question] Could you specify some of these preconditions?

[Answer] Yes. I think these preconditions that must be met are of a complex nature, of course, and I cannot list all of them here anyway. But in my opinion the most important among them are the attitude toward work and toward people's property; the consistent application of the performance principle, above all also the proper moral and material stimulation in the work assignments. An important precondition is a good work organization and the continuity of the production process including good working and living conditions here as well. And what should be listed finally under this complex is strict management with a high level of order, safety and discipline, including political vigilance.

MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS 22 OCT

LD222156 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee met today, chaired by Janos Kadar, and debated and approved a report on international questions, an account reviewing the implementation of the 15-year housing construction program and a proposal on the further development of the system of housing management and distribution. A communique will be issued.

POLISH MODIFICATION OF MEAT-RATIONING NOTED

LD212228 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Summary] Szabolcz Szilagyi reports from Warsaw that the anticrisis staff of the Polish Government have discussed measures needed for preparing for winter. The preparations will take the experiences of the hard 1978-79 winter into consideration. There will be planned measures to concentrate energy where most needed, school holidays likely to be extended, and certain stores will be closed.

"A decision has also been made as to modifying the system of meat rationing. From 1 November, the meat rations of individual peasants farming more than one-half of a hectare of land will be reduced and industrial workers doing the most arduous manual work will be able to buy, instead of the present five kilograms of meat and meat products, about seven and one-half kilograms."

OVARI SPEECH AT SOVIET SOCIETY CONFERENCE 17 OCT

AU211954 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Oct 81 p 3

[Report on speech by Miklos Ovari, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 17 October Seventh National Conference of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society in Budapest]

[Text] Miklos Ovari made a speech during the debate. To begin his speech, he greeted all participants in the Seventh National Conference of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society and all social workers striving to deepen Hungarian-Soviet friendship, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and Janos Kadar personally.

Your conference is a significant event of our social life, stressed the Central Committee secretary. Fostering our friendship and developing our internationalist cooperation with the Soviet Union is not only a durable and essential element of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and government, but is also an important social matter, a cause for all Hungarians who feel responsible and act for their fatherland and universal human progress. The Soviet Union is a true friend and ally of our people. It has proven this at the historical turning points in our destiny, as well as in the normal days of peaceful creative work. He recalled that our friendship was born in joint struggles, and said that our people will not forget: It was the Soviet people who brought us our liberty at the cost of acute sacrifices of blood in 1945.

Miklos Ovari spoke in detail about the fact that the Soviet Union's development and international role and activity are fundamentally important from the viewpoints of world politics as a whole and the international class struggle, including ideological struggle, even today. In the present tense international situation, fraught with dangers, our people as a whole and all sober-minded people throughout the world observe with concern that a trend based on aggressiveness and open force has again become stronger in U.S. policy. The irresponsible and unrealistic imperialist endeavor to dictate to the socialist countries from a position of strength, halt the process of progress in the world and demolish the achievements of detente has assumed a political status.

It is understandable that our people are concerned for their socialist achievements, which have cost them hard work to attain, and for the fate of peace. This enhances their determination to do their share in the struggle for peace. The more tense international situation makes it even more obvious for us that relations of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and our joint conduct against the coordinated policy of imperialism lie in our fundamental national and international interests.

For us, close cooperation with the Soviet Union is not only a foreign policy political issue. Our relations are fulfilling an irreplaceable role in building our socialist society and accomplishing our economic, cultural and scientific tasks as well. The development of Hungarian-Soviet friendship and internationalist cooperation is a cardinal element of our party's and government's policy.

The forms of our cooperation are enriched with new features from time to time. However, its internationalist content remains unchanged: fraternal alliance, sincerity and responsibility for one another and the common cause.

Since its establishment, our party has been a patriotic and internationalist party. It bases its policy on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the generally valid laws of socialist construction and consideration of our country's specific conditions and national characteristics. In our country's history following the liberation, great results serving the good of our people were attained when these requirements came into their own, and we must not forget that this is an indispensable prerequisite also for the present and future success of our work toward building a new society. Loyalty to socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and the cause of friendship among peoples is a national interest of the Hungarian people. We regard it as important that a sound national awareness and the ideal of internationalism should become as strong as possible in our people's mentality and deeds. Building an advanced socialist society calls for the work and activity of people for whom the love of the socialist fatherland is inseparably linked to internationalism.

At the cost of hard struggles, the first socialist country of the world has amassed rich experiences in theoretical and practical aspects of socialist construction. Studying them makes the endeavor of path-seeking considerably easier. Our party and people will continue counting on the Soviet Union's inestimably valuable experiences, stressed the Politburo member, and then spoke of the fact that the Hungarian and Soviet peoples' interest in our countries and each other is mutual.

The MSZMP'S internationalist policy is the paramount depository of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, Miklos Ovari continued. This friendship is nurtured by our socialist principles and conviction. Hungarian-Soviet friendship is a decisive matter, a national issue for the Hungarian people.

Both the report of the national Presidium and the speeches have confirmed our experience that the society has successfully pursued its mission and fulfilled its purpose in the last 5 years.

It is particularly important that we seize all essential elements of reality and see and present in its historical context everything that we disseminate about the life of the Soviet Union, the party's policy and economic, cultural and scientific life.

It is an important task of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society to acquaint people with the Soviet Union's present reality in its entirety, and contribute to the acquisition and practical application of experience.

In conclusion, on behalf of all the activists of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, Miklos Ovari thanked all our Soviet friends who actively participate in deepending what is our common cause, friendship between our peoples.

COMMUNIQUE ON LAOS' PHOUN SIPASEUT'S VISIT

AU220823 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Oct 81 p 4

["Communique on the Visit of the Lao Foreign Minister"]

[Text] At the invitation of Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs, Phoun Sipaseut, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] and deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], paid an official friendly visit to our country from 15 to 19 October 1981.

Phoun Sipaseut was received by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The foreign ministers informed one another of the constructive work underway in their countries.

They concluded with satisfaction that cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the LPDR is developing successfully in the spirit of the joint communiques issued on the 1976 visit of a Lao party-government delegation to Hungary.

The two foreign ministers expressed the conviction that expanding relations and intensifying cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the LPDR and further strengthening fraternal friendship beween their peoples is consistent with the two countries' interests and contributes to augmenting the forces of socialism and progress.

The Hungarian side welcomed the considerable results attained by the fraternal Lao people, under LPRP leadership, in laying the foundations of socialism.

The Lao side spoke with great appreciation of the fraternal Hungarian people's results in building an advanced socialist society. It was grateful for the assistance and support accorded by the MSZMP and the Hungarian Government and people to Laos in laying the foundations of socialism.

In the foreign ministers' appraisal, the main reason for the increase in international tension must be sought in imperialist endeavors to attain superior military strength. Fomenting confrontation and mistrust among countries and the points of tension that have come about in various regions of the world constitutes a dangerous challenge to peace and security. The determination of peoples to restrain the cold-war endeavors of U.S. imperialism and the Beijing hegemonists, halt the arms race and assert the principle of peaceful coexistence is strengthening throughout the world.

[An otherwise briefer version of the communique in Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET on 20 October on page 2 includes the following additional passage at this point: "The sides noted that preserving world peace and consolidating security require a continuation of Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation and reduction of strategic medium-range missiles and other weapons. Successful conclusion of work at the Madrid meeting and reaching agreement on convening an all-European conference devoted to military detente and disarmament would be important for the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

["The sides emphasized the great significance of the Soviet peace proposals submitted on various occasions and at various forums. They voiced the conviction that these proposals offer a realistic prospect for resolving international problems, have a positive impact on the international atmosphere and improve prospects for preserving peace and security."]

The sides welcome and support the Mongolian initiative, aimed at consolidating peace and security in the Asian area, that the Asian and Pacific Ocean countries should mutually commit themselves to nonaggression and disavowal of force.

Delving into the Southeast Asian situation, the sides concluded that the main reasons for the tension prevailing in the area are to be sought in the Beijing and Washington policy, which threatens the area's peace, stability and security and is directed against socialism and social progress.

The Hungarian side pledges its support for the proposals submitted on several occasions, the last time at the 36th session of the UN General Assembly, by the LPDR, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Kampuchean People's Republic: The countries of the area themselves should resolve the problems of Southeast Asia by continuing the dialogue that was begun, consultations and talks, in order that the area should become an area of peace and stability as soon as possible.

The Hungarian side hails Laos' endeavor to further strengthen its fraternal relations with neighboring Vietnam and Kampuchea. Close collaboration among the Indochinese peoples is an important factor in the area's peace.

The sides hail the results attained by the Government of the Kampuchean People's Republic and support its right as the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people at the United Nations.

The talks between the two foreign ministers took place in a spirit of mutual understanding and a cordial and friendly atmosphere and reflected a complete identity of views on all the questions discussed.

Phoun Sipaseut invited Frigyes Puja to an official friendly visit, and Puja accepted the invitation with thanks.

NEMETH NYIREGYHAZA MEETING ADDRESS 15 OCTOBER

AU211715 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Oct 81 p 3

[MTI report on speech by Karoly Nemeth, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at a 15 October meeting of communist activists in Nyiregyhaza]

[Text] In his preamble, Karoly Nemeth spoke with appreciation of results in Szabolcs-Szatmar county, which exceed the countrywide average, and then continued: The communists and nonparty people who live and work here, while they are enriching their county, contributed to the enrichment of the larger community, of the fatherland, as well. We are well aware of the fact that there is enough to make up for in this region, more than elsewhere. All the same, I think that you can be proud of your achievements, which are qualitative ones as well.

Karoly Nemeth then spoke about the country's domestic conditions and circumstances that affect our work and life:

We are not leading a carefree life; we have a great deal to do and the world around us is fraught with numerous tensions. Irrespective of our will, all these circumstances have an impact on our domestic conditions and prospects for development. I say, nevertheless, that we can be gratified by the fact that order and tranquillity reign in our country, our people's general political mood is good, our domestic political position is stable and -- what is most important and is perhaps the reason for all that -- trust between the party and the masses is good and undisturbed. The country's stability is a national achievement whose preservation is an indispensable prerequisite for our being able to master the tasks facing us and overcome the obstacles barring the path of our development. Through their acts and deeds, our people are supporting and realizing our party's policy.

Delving into the economic results of the first 8-9 months of the year, he said: Even if we could not and cannot fulfill our plans quantitatively in every area -- in some cases, this would not even be beneficial -- consistent with the interests of our people's economy, the main requirements of the plan are being realized.

Every class and stratum of our society is showing great political maturity. They understand that the current task is to consolidate results and lay the foundations for continued development, considering all the circumstances. This was the goal we were able to set ourselves at the 12th [MSZMP] Congress and this was codified as law by our Sixth 5-Year Plan as well.

Responsibility for the fate of the fatherland, an internationalist mentality and attitude and community spirit have strengthened very considerably in our public opinion. The number of people -- and there are hundreds of thousands of them -- who do not merely discharge their vocational duties, but work selflessly for the community, is increasing.

The Central Committee secretary then analyzed international economic conditions, which are more and more severe for us as well. He noted that they must be taken into account in the long term and we do, indeed, take them into account. The question occurs to many people: Will we be able, under the circumstances, to attain the goal set at the 12th congress, maintain and consolidate our standard of living and improve our living conditions at the same time?

Attaining it demands steadfastness and the readiness to make sacrifices from all of us. It is not an easy program, but it can be accomplished.

The main prerequisite for us to progress in every area, for our creative ability profusely to unfold in the economy, science and culture, is that the political line that has been pursued by the party should consistently assert itself in its application both on a national scale and locally. The party's policy must be defended from any kind of distortion. What is essential is for us to implement our party's policy and the resolutions of the 12th congress, which are enjoying the active support of the overwhelming majority of party members and our people.

The Central Committee secretary emphatically stressed the importance of developing socialist democracy and spoke appreciatively of the fact that in Szabolcs-Szatmar county more than 35,000 people have voiced their views in the debates about the targets of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. He also noted that we still have some very great reserves in the development of socialist democracy.

Results have not come by themselves, he said. There is a great deal of struggle and fighting behind them. It is the most important thing with regard to the future as well that the party should be united, from the Central Committee to basic organizations, on every new issue.

Our own historical experiences prove that if we have this unity we can successfully resolve even the most difficult tasks.

For us, the 12th congress' resolutions are the norm. What is needed is more demanding work, an attitude of readiness to take the initiative and appreciating and supporting those who take the initiative. I will conclude with something of which Comrade Kadar has spoken: One can and must work in every situation; a communist cannot think differently. I wish the Szabolcs-Szatmar county communists good health. With enthusiastic work, they are certain to further enrich your county and contribute to the development of our socialist fatherland and the accomplishment of our plans, Karoly Nemeth stressed in conclusion.

SOLIDARITY NATIONAL COMMISSION MEETS IN GDANSK

Danger to Union, Internal Calm

LD221644 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] NSZZ Solidarity's National Commission is meeting in Gdansk. The situation in the country is the main topic of all speeches. It has been unanimously ascertained [ustalono] that the union and internal calm in the country are in danger. A resolution on this topic is being prepared: It will define further actions for Solidarity.

Lech Walesa has appealed for commonsense and for not overstepping the line of accord. He warned against decisions which belong to political parties, and he stated that pressure against the party and administrative structure of the state would violate democracy.

The program of the 2-day debates includes discussing the food situation, defining the concepts of the social economic council, and assessing recent talks held with the government side. The National Commission has been acquainted with the Telex from strikers in Zyrardow and will express its view on it.

The debates continue.

Meeting Likely To Be Extended

LD221844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] It is almost certain that the debates of the National Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity in Gdansk, which began today, will be extended until tomorrow due to an extensive agenda submitted by the Presidium and accepted by the National Commission.

Much time in the discussion was devoted to something which has been called the state of threat to the union. Attempts at arresting union activists and Solidarity workers were quoted in connection with the dissemination of union press and publications, which recently took place in Wroclaw and Katowice.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz spoke against the proposal from the floor to declare a short strike as a form of protest. He said that the course of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum had outlined the possibility for setting up a government team which could propose a program acceptable to the union, and thus he considered the strike proposal to be improper.

Another speaker, Jan Rulewski, pointed out imperfections in the program prepared at the first congress of Solidarity. He maintained that the program lacks a clearly defined vision of the future. He said that the union must go back to the factories in order to prevent the creation, as he put it, of a 10-million-strong caste. On this point he was supported by the chairman of the National Commission, Lech Walesa, who said that one must not dismantle existing administrative and political structures. We must construct self-management in work enterprises, while we must unreservedly retain party and state administration and retain the union movement, he said.

It was also necessary to set up a body which would control the union's efforts. This would successfully prevent possible deformation of the programmatic line adopted at the congress.

At this moment the debate is continuing. So far the commission has not adopted any resolutions.

National Economy Council Viewed

LD222218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Gdansk correspondent's report -- live]

[Text] The deliberations of the National Commission [KK] of the NSZZ Solidarity will not end before tomorrow.

The agenda proposed by the Presidium comprises issues concerning the threat to the union in the light of the recent incidents in Wroclaw and Katowice and the attempts to arrest Solidarity activitists and employees distributing union press and publications in those cities. The KK has not yet taken a specific stand on this question.

There has been a discussion of the report of the negotiating group, led by Grzegorz Palka, which recently held talks in the Ministry of Finance with a working group of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs, led by Minister Marian Krzak, at which rationing, foodstuffs, fuel and the issue of the so-called social council for the national economy, which the government side calls a mixed commission, were tackled. The council would be set up at a national level with the aim of monitoring the proper government measures which are to get the economy out of the crisis.

The draft instructions of the KK concerning the setting up of that council, put forward at today's session, comprise eight points, in which there is talk, among other things, of the possibility of its fulfilling the following functions: coshaping of economic policy and development strategy, coshaping the system principles of managing the economy; assessment of standardization acts, and taking initiatives in the field of legal normalization.

Because of the importance of the document put forward for discussion, debate on the subject will be postponed until tomorrow's session, about which we will try to keep you informed.

Session Continues 23 Oct

LD230934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The NSZZ Solidarity National Commission [KK] plenum continues in Gdansk today. The agenda includes discussion on three problematic topics: The security of the union's activity in light of recent events, the food situation and current information.

Also organizational decisions are to be made concerning the KK Presidium's final composition, the election of deputy chairmen of the union and the division of the KK into problematic teams.

Jozef Patyna opened the discussion with a report which states that actions undertaken by the authorities are repressive toward activists and the entire NSZZ Solidarity. Those speaking in the discussion stated that NSZZ Solidarity activity has been threatened and that the union should take firm preventive steps.

The document prepared by the KK of Solidarity after the plenary session will contain, among other matters, the union's stance on the question of security and a proposal for setting up a social economic council.

SOLIDARITY SAYS WALESA, JARUZELSKI TO MEET 26 Oct

NC231145 Paris AFP in English 1134 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Gdanski, Poland, 23 Oct (AFP) -- Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa may meet next Monday with Poland's new party leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, union sources here said today.

The meeting was likely to take place before the next session of the party's policy-making Central Committee, widely expected to open on Tuesday, the sources said.

Government officials in Warsaw said they knew of no plans for such a meeting.

OFFICIALS VIEW WROCLAW, KATOWICE INCIDENTS

Ministry Communique on Wroclaw

LD222008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Communique conveyed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs press spokesman to PAP]

[Text] In the afternoon of 21 October 1981 -- similar to what happened in Katowice on 20 October -- a [word indistinct] motorcar bearing the inscription "Radio Solidarnosc" was parked in the center of Wroclaw. The vehicle was equipped with loudspeaker devices. Without previous permission being granted for this purpose, these devices were used to emit programs, and persons inside the vehicle also distriubuted publications issued by NSZZ Solidarity. Some of the broadcasts and distributed publications were clearly of an antistate character.

A gathering of some 500 people surrounded the car and this fact disturbed the public peace and order. Despite earlier warnings and words of caution, the action was not suspended. In view of this, at about 1800 [as heard] officials of the Citizens' Militia detained the persons inside the vehicle and brought them, together with the vehicle, to the premises of the Citizens' Militia voivodship committee in Wroclaw.

Among the four persons detained was Olgierd [surname indistict] member of the personnel concerned with propaganda activities of the Lower Silesia regional executive of NSZZ Solidarity, and a 15-year old schoolboy. After their statements had been taken the detained persons were released and their cases were sent to the judicial board of assessors. The schoolboy was taken by a militia car to his home and handed over to his parents.

A large crowd gathered outside the building of the Citizens' Militia headquarters. Squads of militiamen took resolute and decisive steps to restore order and disperse the gathering. Eleven persons were detained. They had obstructed the action of Citizens' Militia officials and behaved in an aggressive and provocative manner. Some of them were in a state of intoxication. After a warning, all the detained persons were released. The case of one of them was sent to the judicial board of assessors. The motorcar was returned to the executive of NSZZ Solidarity. The loudspeaker devices which had been dismantled were retained at the disposal of the Public Prosecutor's Office.

In the evening and during the night the city of Wroclaw was calm. The streets are patrolled by reinforced teams of the Citizens' Militia and military Internal Service.

In connection with further attempts to disturb the public order in the city, the Wroclaw voivoda introduced on 21 October a ban on public meetings and on the sale of alcohol. The ban on meetings, as already reported, has now been lifted.

The propaganda action conducted by the Lower Silesia regional organization of NSZZ Solidarity constitutes a violation of the regulations of the law on the control of publications and public performances and also of Article 63 of the code of offenses. Also, the antistate character of some of the broadcasts and distributed publications qualifies as a criminal offense under Articles 271 and 273 of the criminal code.

In the case in question the voivodship public prosecutor's office in Wroclaw began preliminary proceedings. In view of the fact that some of the publications that were questioned [as heard] aimed against the Polish People's Army, the prosecutor of the Silesia Military District -- independent of the investigation which was in progress -- had warning talks with representatives of NSZZ Solidarity's Lower Silesia regional executive. He drew attention to the unlawful and impermissible character of activities of this kind as well as to the consequences that might follow them.

Militia Chief Comments

LD221946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] [Presenter] We have invited to the studio Maj Jerzy Lipinski from the main headquarters of the Citizens' Milita. You probably share my view that the events in Katowice and Wroclaw are particularly disquieting.

[Lipinski] Yes, perhaps what is most striking is that they happened at the same time and that there is a similar pattern of events, both in Katowice and Wroclaw. I also think that an important and very worrying element of those events, those incidents, is the potential danger of the consequences of this type of event taking place in public places. I understand, and probably everybody understands, that particularlyin this situation there are problems, there are matters which require solution (?in discussion), where one can take different stands. However, one must not, when solving them, use aggression, crowd emotions, and breaking windows in militia buildings and in militia vehicles. This is simply violating law and order; it is simply a breach of the peace, of that peace which is so necessary now.

In the face of this type of activity, we are determined to react very firmly and very energetically. In both cases, in Katowice and in Wroclaw, the militia maintained enormous restraint, despite its having all the means to restore order in a determined way. However, it is hard to predict how long the restraint can be kept up in the face of events which are played out on a spontaneous basis, on the basis of the constantly existing possibility that all sorts and kinds of people will join in who find themselves in public places. In point of fact this is a very real danger which has to be taken into account and which has to be avoided.

[Presenter] Thank you. I would like to stress again that the brochures and leaflets sold in the vehicles in Katowice and Wroclaw were illegal publications. That means that they were published without the knowledge of the censor. That was a clear breach of the law, a situation in which the militia has to be intervene because that is what it is there for.

Finally, probably the most important aspect of the matter; my interviewee also drew attention to it. In Katowice and Wroclaw, street incidents took place and there was a situation which could very easily have turned into a much more serious conflict. All sorts of people walk the streets, including those who attach themselves to a crowd, as one says, for the devilment, without even being interested in the causes of the conflict. They are eager and enthusiastic, however, to overturn cars and hurl stones. It is probably obvious that in the present atmosphere of tension and clashes and all kinds of argument, when almost every day new flashpoints come into being, situations must not be created which can lead to irrevocable results. This truth should be obvious to everyone who thinks with concern about Poland, and to everybody who thinks at all.

REGIONAL PROTESTS, STRIKE ACTIVITIES CONTINUE

Mishalek Listens to Strikers

LD221859 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Following yesterday's 1-hour warning strike, a general strike has been going on since this morning in the work enterprises of Zielona Gora Voivodship.

It was proclaimed by NSZZ Solidarity's regional board which at present is transformed into the regional strike committee, to support the demands of employees in Lubogora's agricultural enterprise. They are calling above all for the director of the enterprise and his deputy and the director of the Swiebodzin agricultural combine to be recalled from their posts.

Today Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee of the party, arrived in Swiebodzin to meet with Zielona Gora Voivodship's agricultural aktiv. In connection with the tense situation in the region, he also made his way to Lubogora. The Central Committee secretary was acquainted by the strikers with the causes of and course taken by the conflict, and with their demands.

Later on Zbigniew Michalek arrived in Zielona Gora where, together with the first secretary of the voivodship committee, Jerzy Dabrowski, he met with the leadership of the regional strike committee. Talks aimed at resolving the conflict and thus ending the strike are continuing.

Warsaw Reports Strikes

LD222335 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Our Zielona Gora correspondent [name indistinct].

[Begin recording] As we reported, a general strike has been going on since this morning in Zielona Gora Voivodship. Today Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee of the party, arrived in the region. The purpose of his visit was to meet with the agricultural aktiv, but in view of the tense situation in the voivodship, he also visited the strikes in Lubogora. There and then, in the headquarters of the regional board of Solidarity in Zielona Gora, he acquainted himself with the causes and the course taken by the conflict. Zbigniew Michalek, Central Committee secretary proposed to Solidarity that it break off the general strike, and that a workers' self-management be speedily appointed in Lubogora's agricultural plant which would make a decision in the matter of the plant's director. However, that proposal has so far not been accepted. [end recording]

Strike readiness is continuing in Gorzow Wielkopolski and Gorzow Wielkopolski Voivodship. It was proclaimed by Solidarity's regional board as an expression of protest against -- as the union resolution puts it -- the repression of Solidarity activists by the organs of public order. The union activists have begun to be investigated for disseminating false leaflets and posters aimed against the party and our international alliances. We will now listen to a report by our Rzeszow correspondent [name indistinct].

[Begin recording] A further growth in social tension, caused mainly by inadequate supplies of basic necessities, chiefly meat and meat products, has occurred in the Sub-Carpathian region and in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship today. As early as yesterday NSZZ Solidarity's Sub-Carpathian regional board announced in (?Krosno) a state of strike readiness. This is to be an expression of protest against the deteriorating situation in the supply of food and of disapproval for the voivodship's administrative authorities which are acting, as Solidarity states, ineffectively and sluggishly. Preliminary talks with the voivodship authorities yielded no results. In this situation, Solidarity in the Sub-Carpathian region directed a demand to the premier, the government and the Krosno Voivodship People's Council for the voivoda and three deputy voivodes to be recalled from their posts. If this demand is not met by 27 October, decisions are to be made regarding further protest action. Today the Krosno work enterprises functioned normally.

However, eight industrial enterprises in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship struck today. The cause of these strikes, proclaimed by the regional board of Sandomierz region's Solidarity, seems to be, as in Krosno, bad supply of food, as well as matters pertaining to the self-management of construction [word indistinct] milieus, and the drawing of consequences with regard to certain representatives of the administrative authorities of the voivodship who in the opinion of Solidarity are guilty of the deepening crisis.

Today's strike in eight Tarnobrzeg work enterprises is also a reply to the breaking off yesterday of talks by the government commission with the regional (?committee) of Solidarity in the Sandomierz area. The commission is reproached with a lack of powers. In Stalowa Wola toady, a government commission was expected whose representatives would be authorized with plenipotentiary powers to make decisions in the matters put forward by the Sandomierz region Solidarity. That commission did not come to Stalowa Wola. In view of this, the Sandiomerz regional board of NSZZ Solidarity proclaims the beginning of a general strike, as of tomorrow, with no final date being given. Gastronomic institutions, cafeterias, food stores, enterprises concerning themselves with the (?transport) of food and fuel and with supplying retailers, Polish Motor Transportation [PKS], Polish State Railways [PKP], the health service, communications and education have been included in the strike. [end recording]

TU Activists May Face Charges

LD231106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Excerpt] In Wroclaw life has returned to normal since Wednesday's disturbances. The Wroclaw voivoda has lifted the ban on public gatherings, and it has been announced that four Solidarity activists may have to face the collegium for legal offenses following the violation of the censorship law.

The workforces in Zyrardow factories continue their strike. In the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship yesterday 15 work enterprises were on strike, and it has been announced that today a strike will take place in all work enterprises in the voivodship.

A general strike was held yesterday in work enterprises in Zielona Gora Voivodship.

Wroclaw Transportation Strike

LD221338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Following yesterday's disturbances, Wroclaw is calm today. All factories and businesses are working normally. However, in spite of the appeal of Solidarity National Commission and the fourth Central Committee Plenum, the municipal transportation enterprise (MPK) workers went on strike. At 0800 all buses and streetcars returned to their depots. A PAP journalist was informed at the MPK factory commission that the strikers demand release of the detained Solidarity activists and the return of the car impounded by the militia. We remind you that the Solidarity activists have been detained and charged with publishing materials of an antistate character in the center of Wroclaw.

Transport Workers End Strike

LD221650 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Excerpt] At 1500 after a 7-hour protest strike by municipal transportation workers in Wroclaw, streetcars and buses again appeared in the city. The strike has ended. Persons who were detained yesterday by the Citizens' Militia have been released. The prosecutor's office found that their deeds did not justify arrest and detention.

Krosno TU Action Protested

LD221706 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (PAP) -- In connection with the conflict that has arisen at the shock absorber plant in Krosno around the person of factory worker Jozef Topolski, (Jan Simon), secretary of the Main Board of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, has sent a letter to Chairman of the Council of Ministers W. Jaruzelski in defense of J. Topolski who has been insulted by members of Solidarity and dismissed by the director of the enterprise under threat of strike.

In connection with this letter, a press spokesman for the government has handed PAP a statement concerning the incident, which reads in part:

No differences of opinion, nor any polemics can serve as justification for mob-law, acts of violence and the public insult of a working citizen. Lowering the dignity of an honest worker, wheeling him in a wheelbarrow out of the enterprise in which he had worked honestly for most of his life is the prank of a hooligan which is unworthy of workers' Solidarity and a dangerous precedent. The increasing number of acts of such lawlessness is a manifestation of physical terror. This incident, moreover, clearly shows that certain sections of Solidarity understand freedom of speech exclusively as a right to disseminate their own slogans, and any attempt to express other views is dealt with mercilessly.

A resolute condemnation must be evoked by the fact that the trade union is expending so much energy on depriving a workmate of work just because he holds other views. Not a single country has such a law which would allow a strike to be called over the views of a worker. Such activity also runs counter to Polish legislation.

Upon examination of the matter the chairman of the Council of Ministers dispatched an extensive elucidation to the Main Board of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, which, as distinct from the political trade union organizations and the administration of the enterprise, rose in defense of the injured party.

In connection with the well-founded suspicion that the dismissal of J. Topolski violated social norms and had no connection with the work he was carrying out, the minister of metallurgy and the machine engineering industry has suspended the director of the enterprise, (Edward Nitka), from his duties.

The statement by the government press spokesman and the decision to suspend the director has not been convincing for the local Solidarity activists. The factory commission of this trade union is in session at the plant and does not exclude even the possibility of a general strike at the enterprise.

The tension in the voivodship is increasing in connection with the Sub-Carpathian region Solidarity decision yesterday proposing the recall from his post of the Krosno voivoda and the three deputy voivodas in connection with the fact that, as the decision stresses, appropriate measures have not been taken to improve the supply of food products to the region.

Strike, Strike Readiness Viewed

LD222218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Excerpts] As our correspondents report, despite the appeal by the Central Committee and Solidarity's National Commission, social tension continues to be maintained in many regions of Poland, casued by protest actions, strikes or strike readiness. It emerges from reports that strikes and strike readiness occurred yesterday in 34 voivodships.

Solidarity's regional strike committee in Sandomierz region proclaimed a strike in seven more work enterprises in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The cause of this action is the critical state of supply to the population, and chiefly the lack of backing for meat and other rationed goods, which is being blamed on the directorate of the voivodship office.

Another government delegation entrusted with plenipotentiary powers to make the appropriate decisions is expected in Stalowa Wola today.

In Krosno region a state of strike readiness has prevailed since yesterday. It was proclaimed by the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity in the Sub-Carpathian region.

As in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, it is a sign of protest against the deteriorating state of supply of basic foodstuffs, and of disapproval for the administrative authorities which, in the opinion of Solidarity, are acting ineffectively and sluggishly. So far, preliminary talks with the voivodship authorities have not yielded any results. In this situation the regional board and representatives of Solidarity's plant commissions have addressed to the premier and to the Krosno Voivodship People's Council a demand for the voivoda and three deputy voivodas to be recalled from their posts. If this demand is not met by October 27, decisions will be made regarding further protest action.

Today the Polmo plant's Solidarity committee held a session. It adopted resolutions directed to the Sejm, the premier, the regional board in the Sub-Carpathian region and the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry. The commission is demanding the restoration of Edward Nitka to the post of director. If a binding decision is not received in this matter in the course of the next 7 days, the Polmo plant's crew will undertake openended strike action.

The tense social situation in Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship is unchanged. Strike readiness is already into its 11th day in the work enterprises of the region, and the undertaking of a general strike has been suspended until guidelines in this matter are obtained from Solidarity's National Commission. A five-man delegation of the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] in Piotrkow Voivodship made its way to today's session of the National Commission, where it is to present, among other things, the matter of the scandalous supply of food to this voivodship.

Grudziadz 'Hunger March'

LD222252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] In accordance with the announcement made by the Grudziadz Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity, a so-called hunger march has been organized in the city. Its particpants arrived in the market square where a representative of Solidarity read demands concerning improvements in food supplies and access to control over food production. It has been announced that if these demands are not met, a 4-hour warning strike will be staged on Monday with a full-scale strike to follow a few days later.

Szczecin TU Resolution

LD221052 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 22 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Excerpts] We read in TRYBUNA LUDU that yesterday was yet another day of tension, strikes and threats of strikes in various regions of the country.

On Wednesday there was a meeting in Szczecin of Marian Jurczyk, chairman of the Western Pomerania board of NSZZ Solidarity, and Deputy Chairman Stanislaw Kocjan with members of works' commissions of the main industrial enterprises of Szczecin and Szczecin Voivodship. At the meeting Marian Jurczyk said that the resolution of the fourth plenum constitutes a major attack on Solidarity, in particular the proposal to suspend the right to strike. In this situation we want to discuss with all the work enterprises what kind of struggle we are going to adopt against our, let me use a strong expression, enemies, Jurczyk said. Next in the voting, by an enormous majority of votes the following variant resolution has been adopted: all possible forms of pressure will be used; if they do not produce results, then a general strike will be proclaimed.

Radom Warning Strike

LD221956 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The conflict between the enterprise commission of Solidarity at Radom higher engineering school and the management of the school continues.

Let us recall that it concerns electoral procedure at the school not approved by Solidarity. The present procedure permits the rector in office to stand again.

Today, a 1-hour warning strike was held at the school. Apart from employees of the higher engineering school, representatives from some work enterprises took part in it, including the Radom telephone factory. The strike proper has been announced for 26 October.

On the other hand, a conflict between the workforce of the voivodship ambulance column in Radom and the local authorities has been adverted. The workforce demanded an improvement in the working conditions in the local garage. As a result of talks held between Solidarity and local authorities a decision was made to erect a new garage for 250 cars in the Radom district of Jozefow.

Sieradz Agreement, Protocol

LD222300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Talks between representatives of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection and Solidarity representatives from Sieradz Voivodship have ended. As a result of the talks, an agreement and protocol were signed in the Sieradz Voivodship office. The outcome of the negotiations is the acceptance of accords aimed at an improvement in the supply of bottled gas as well as an improvement in bus services and market supplies.

Farmers Suspend Protest

LD221958 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Farmers in Slawno parish in Slupsk Voivodship have suspended indefinitely their protest action. The decision was made by the parish union of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers because of the need to speedily complete autumn field work. The protest, which started in mid-October, began because 1,050 hectares of land belonging to the nationalized sector and the state land fund have not been handed over to the farmers.

LE MONDE REPORTS CFDT CONTACTS WITH WALESA

PM221039 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Oct 81 p 4

[J.R. report: "Mr Lech Walesa Warmly Welcomed at CFDT Paris Meeting"]

[Text] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa and the other members of the Polish delegation were loudly applauded by the 3,000 or so people attending the gala meeting organized by CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] late on Thursday 15 October in the big top at the Porte de Pantin. The Polish trade unionists were to spend Friday with the CGT [General Labor Confederation].

The Solidarity leader was able to gauge his popularity by the warmth of the welcome given by the Parisians at this "mass" meeting which ended the second day of his visit to France.

After a short speech Mr Walesa answered some of the questions which he had asked the audience to put to him. Alternating between pithy self-confidence and slight irony, as is his custom, the leader returned to some of the subjects raised during his press conference the previous day.

After thanking the CFDT for the support if had given him from the start and "which paved the way for help from other trade unions," Mr Walesa stated in particular: "We want freedom and bread.... We want to choose our friends.... We will ensure that nobody helps us without our agreement...."

"Things would be much better in France if power and the means of production belonged to the workers and not to individuals, as is the case now," Mr Walesa also said, stating that in his country he wants a "strong and wise government defending the labor world.... It is no longer possible to lie to us."

[Question] Why does the church play such an important role in Poland?

"Because it is necessary to believe in God or another ideal," the leader replied.

[Question] What about self-management?

[Answer] In our situation this is the first measure to be taken; there is no other solution than self-management.

[Question] Does Solidarity have trade union officials?

[Answer] We have only been in existence for 1 year and we have as many problems as we have hairs on our heads. [answer ends]

Mr Edmond Maire [CFDT leader] opened the meeting, stating in particular: "The CFDR supports the intention expressed by the Solidarity congress to place the process of change in the framework of Poland's geopolitical situation; but, it also supports your refusal to allow yourselves to be drawn into a strategy of systematic confrontation or to be caught up in violence." The trade unionist reaffirmed the desire to "rebuild an authentic trade unionism and true socialism based on freedom, which applies as much in Poland as in France.... Independence from parties and the state is as vital to us as oxygen."

The CFDT has rather taken the lion's share in the program for Solidarity's visit. As early as Thursday morning the Polish delegation had a long meeting with the CFDT leaders. It was then invited, with them, to a lunch and a tour of the national aircraft engines design and construction company in Corbeil, Essonne.

The press was refused entry to that establishment, the director indicating that this exclusion was a "permanent rule" owing to the "military secrecy" surrounding some products. The journalists protested against the strictness of the CFDT organizers and decided not to "cover" the visit.

SOLIDARITY AIMING PROPAGANDA AGAINST ARMY

LD222128 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] In the present extremely difficult economic situation our Army takes part in many forms of work throughout the country, mainly in communications, the power industry and construction work; but they also help in agriculture during the harvesting of root and other crops, thus providing food which we so badly need. In other words we [as heard] are always and everywhere in places where knowledge, good organization and technical skills, as well as strong, deft and hardworking hands of soldiers are required. In the light of the country's complex situation and in view of the possible further worsening of conditions during the winter, the executive of the government and of the Ministry of National Defence has undertaken the necessary steps to render even more effective assistance in ensuring the normal functioning of the basic sections of the national economy. For this purpose, among other things, the military service of soliders most closely to be discharged in the ground forces has been lenghtened by 2 months: These soldiers are fully prepared to render assistance of the kind mentioned above.

These soldiers and their families deserve true respect for their patriotic understanding of this decision. Therefore, logically thinking -- from the point of view of civic duty -- one could have expected that this decision would also encounter full understanding and approval of all Poles who are concerned about the good of the country.

Unfortunately, it happened otherwise. Some regional executives of NSZZ Solidarity are exploiting this fact so as to unleash their propaganda which is aimed directly against the cohesion, moral-political unity and the unbreakable links between the Army and the nation. This is something which is altogether incomprehensible and paradoxical. In a situation of profound socioeconomic crisis which we are experiencing, attempts are being made on the one hand to put in doubt and to discredit the public sense of duty of intensified service and work of soldiers, and on the other hand to organize and sponsor strikes, protest campaigns and other activities which hinder work -- all actions that tend to ruin the country. These activities include the distribution of propaganda leaflets. To what is it leading? This is a harmful action aimed against our own nation, against ourselves.

For us, soldiers, these leaflets are of an unambiguous provocative character. We know their authors and we know, beyond all doubt, that they have their origin in the regional executive of the NSZZ Solidarity of Jelenia Gora and Lower Silesia. It is these organizations that circulate the leaflets, yet the authorship of some of these leaflets is mendaciously attributed to soldiers. This method is well-known to belong to the arsenal of subversive techniques, and it should not be employed by the elements of a trade union to which a very considerable part of the working class and of the nation links such great hopes. This practice evokes a profound protest and indignation among the men in uniform.

Thousands of soldiers serve in our ranks. They come from various walks of life, professions and regions, from various political, public and trade union organizations, including Solidarity. They serve together, in a fraternal manner, in the service of their country. They are also united by their civic concern for the country's socialist future and for its safe, peaceful and hard-working existence. They serve these values and they will faithfully guard these values. Those who inspire the leaflet campaign aimed at the soldiers show strikingly their lack of sense of elementary civic responsibility for what is so extremely important from the Polish point of view: economic stability, security and the defense potential of the country.

Does this not prove that somebody is interested in weakening a strong pillar of a socialist state? Who is served by this? In whose interest does this action lie? I leave it to you to supply an answer to these questions.

IDEA OF REDUCING MILITARY EXPENDITURE REJECTED

LD221508 Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 22 Oct 81

["Devious Scheme" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (PAP) -- In an article referring to utterances by certain delegates at the recent Solidarity congress in Gdansk, who demanded reduction of Poland's military budget, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote:

"Poland's economic effort is tailored to our needs and, above all, to our possibilities. Expenditure on defence in Poland is between 3 and 6 times lower compared with appropriate per capita expenditure in the NATO countries. For example, the per capita expenditure on defence is in Poland three times lower than in the Netherlands, which is low on the list of NATO contributing countries, and 6 times lower compared with the United States which tops the table. Expenditure on defence in Poland amounts to 3-4.5 per cent of the annual national revenue. Worth adding is the (?fact) that the current inflationary gap in the Polish economy exceeds by 4.5 times the size of this year's budget of the Ministry of National Defence. Thus, the actual defence expenditures is not that significant that, even if the entire budget of the Ministry of National Defence were turned over to civilian ministries, it would help nothing to heal the economy and lead Poland out of the crisis."

"In the present international situation, reduction of the military budget would lead to the lowering of combat ability of the Armed Forces, weakening of the country's defence capability and diminution of Poland's international position in Europe and elsewhere. This would harm the most vital interests of the Polish nation and state, all the more so as the international situation is also highly dangerous. The intensive arms race, initiated by NATO, the deployment in Western Europe of new nuclear weapons which, in view of their range, are aimed directly against Poland, the decision of the Reagan administration to start production of neutron weapons combine to erode further the flimsy foundation of peaceful coexistence.

"West German revanchists have never given up their hopes of changing in their favour the territorial status quo in Europe, also at the expense of Polish lands. If, in spite of that, Europe is enjoying the longest peace period in its history this is not a mysterious occurence but is due to the fact that the actual balance of forces gives a possible war adventure no chance. That peace is guarded by the defence might of the socialist communists -- the Warsaw Treaty."

"It is well known that our peaceful and disarmament initiatives are constantly torpedoed by the West which, incessantly stepping up its militarization processes, is looking for a chance. It is in that context that we must see and assess J. Rulewski's proposal concerning 'verification' of our defence alliances. It is an adventurist and anti-national proposal fraught with incalculable consequences.

"Those who are dreaming about violating our alliances should be reminded that Poland, as a member of the socilaist defensive coalition, is a real component of the balance of forces in Europe and the world. Thus, it must be borne in mind that change of her place would shatter stability and peace in Europe. Poland would then play the role of detonator of the world situation. Only men overwhelmed by a maniacal hatred of socialism can wish this to happen to its own nation and country."

SZTANDAR MLODYCH INTERVIEW WITH JACEK KURON

PM220815 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 9-11 Oct 81 p 3

[Jerzy Gonczarski and Ryszard Naleszkiewicz interview with Jacek Kuron, former workers' Social Self-Defense Committee leader and Solidarity adviser: "I live on My System of Views" -- date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] When we two talk of "socialism" it seems that the word holds a different meaning for us than it does for you. Might it be possible to harmonize our views?

[Answer] I indeed avoid using that word in order not to engage in semantic disputes. You can see, gentlemen, what the situation has been like -- one in which the word has been assessed in various mutually conflicting ways. Different people have endowed it with a different content. Therefore, it would be most convenient to use an empiric definition and say that socialism is what we have had to deal with in Poland for 35 years. I would have nothing against such a definition, but, because of different assessments, this kind of interpretation would gravely offend some people to whom the word "socialism" means a great deal. It also means a great deal to me. You cannot endow a word with a special semantic content in one part of the world if it has a different significance in other parts of the world. I believe, therefore, that the word "socialism" can be used in any very long discussion only if the people involved in it make clear what they have in mind. However, that word should not be used loosely in a press interview because different people could read different things into it.

[Question] It has been said that you are antisocialist.

[Answer] In order to be antisocialist you must first realize what it means to be a socialist in Poland. Whenever someone in France says that he is a communist, it is clear what that means.

Whenever someone says that he is a socialist belonging to some determined group, it is unnecessary to explain what he means any further. However, if someone in Poland says that he is a socialist, you do not know what this means because there are no such political groups here. You could seek to refer to history but does this mean that I would have been a socialist in pre-Septeber [1939] Poland? How should I know this? I realize, however, that what you want is a clear answer -- am I am antisocialist? Those who believe that if you seek to really socialize the means of production and power -- for this is what I in fact, seek to do -- you are engaging in antisocialist activities, those people must also believe that this is what antisocialism is like. I would find it difficult to engage in polemics with such people.

[Question] You have mentioned semantics. Did shipyard workers write the word "socialism" together with 21 demands, on a piece of plywood a year ago for the sake of semantics? And yet, that word has almost disappeared from Solidarity's draft program.

[Answer] The word "socialism" is obviously unpopular in the eyes of the general public at present, as a result of 35 years of actual practice.

[Question] Basing our assertion on facts, we state that people from the workers' Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] have set themselves up as full-time Solidarity employees as activists, advisers and newspapermen. By the same token, you have been using the trade union as a protective umbrella over yourselves. We congratulate you on your disguise but do you realize that the Solidarity rank and file may eventually lose patience and get rid of KOR people because of the drubbing which the trade union has been getting and will probably continue to get simply because the authorities are especially sensitive to your activities? The attack carried out by some delegates during the congress -- even though, it is true, it was mainly directed against advisers and experts -- was a symptomatic, albeit -- so far -- gentle warning. Do you not think so?

[Answer] If you were ever to seek examples of the manipulatory role played by the press and were in need of some quotations, just recall the question which you yourselves have just put to me. You say: KOR people have set themselves up as full-time employees. This is especially funny because none of us is paid. In addition, you have mentioned "disguise." Furthermore, you have stated that the authorities are especially sensitive to our activities and this suggests that we engage in activities different from those of Solidarity. It is impossible to reply adequately to a question put in such a way. It is a question reminiscent of the question "how often have you been unfaithful to your wife?"

[Question] Maybe we ask awkward questions and use words different from those you would use but, nonetheless, you have evaded the question.

[Answer] All right then. KOR had 33 members and several thousand activists. As a movement, we were open. Is there anything strange in the fact that those people approached Solidarity immediately after August and began their activities within its framework? It is true that there are very many collaborators of KOR among the people working for the trade union's press and also among Solidarity activists themselves. From Walesa and Gwiazda down. However, it is untrue to say that there were many of us among the advisers and experts. If you, gentlemen, were to start counting, it would become clear that I was the only KOR member in the former National Consultative Commission [KKP] and that there were two of our members in the Mazowsze organization. Therefore, there have been no special KOR activities as distinct from trade union activities. In principle, these people represent no joint line of activity. They differ and argue among themselves with respect to various matters. KOR has never had any joint political manifesto even though it has had a program for self-organization by the community. This is why KOR virtually ceased to exist as soon as Solidarity was created.

[Question] Do you believe that the trade union feels that it is attacked because of the activities of KOR members in it?

[Answer] Obviously not. Solidarity has been attacked for very many various reasons but mainly for the reason that it exists. For the existence of a genuinely self-governing and independent trade union has led to a virtual collapse of the structure of the system which existed in Poland prior to August, which had been its main structure. Attacks have been launched by people who either cannot or who do not want to realize that time has come for basic changes. The method used to launch these attacks is simple -- attempts are made to create divisions, to persuade people that such divisions in fact exist and to intensify those that actually do exist. This is being done through alienating the rank and file from the leadership, differentiating between bad and good people and between politicos and a sound core and so forth. KOR serves this purpose extremely well because it has been broad and open. Anyone awkward can be called a KOR member. This is more difficult to do with respect to organizations whose members are issued with membership cards.

[Question] Let us repeat our question -- how do you explain the attack launched against experts during the congress?

[Answer] It was a result of the existence of different trends and orientations within Solidarity itself. After all, whenever you talk about experts you do not mean all experts but only certain experts. It so happened -- whether fortunately or unfortunately -- that just before the congress the KKP adopted a decision with respect to a compromise over the draft law on self-management. My influence with respect to this decision was considerable and I do not conceal this. In any case, the minutes of that meeting of the KKP Presidium were read to the delegates. Therefore, many of the attacks launched against the decision made by the KKP Presidium and against experts were directed against me.

[Question] What advice do you now give to the trade union -- do you advise it to reach an agreement with the authorities and accept a socialist system which has been reformed since August or to continue to seek power and gain control over national councils and the Sejm? Considered from this viewpoint, the latter would lead, in our opinion, to further political tensions and divert the community's attention from matters which are now of paramount importance, namely, the economy, energy, winter and empty stores.

[Answer] It would impossible to divert anyone's attention from empty stores. But, seriously, gentlemen, you talk about seeking power and trying to ensure that national councils and self-managing organizations are really what they are supposed to be, that is, that they are elected by the community in accordance with fundamental law. As for empty stores, we must ask why are they empty? After all, we have had no war recently, the country is adequately endowed with natural resources, its people are hard-working people and it has a sound manpower structure and highly qualified cadres. The fact that this country has been brought to such a desperate plight represents a kind of record. Furthermore, such a state of affairs was forecast several years ago. In 1976, Professor Lipinski issued such a warning in an "open letter" to Gierek.

[Question] Not only Professor Lipinski from KOR warned Gierek, but Gierek's former adviser, Professor Beksiak, did too.

[Answer] It is obvious and clear that in order to extricate ourselves from the crisis we must make some essential structural changes. Some irreversible events have taken place. The main fact is that the community has organized itself. No one can force anything on this community any longer. The idea that it can be governed as it was before August is a crazy idea, a hallucination.

[Question] But this is not the way in which people are governed now!

[Answer] Because no one governs at all and this is the point. Some time ago I wrote an article entitled "What Next?" It began with a comparison with trains. Within a centrally controlled schedule regulating train traffic some self-managing and independent trains suddenly set off. Every 10th train was of this kind. The consequences are bound to be dreadful.

It is true that no special system can be as perfect as a railroad schedule, but such a situation as present is impossible. In such a case, the railroad schedule must be scrapped. No catastrophe need occur but the system must be smashed. We witness the collapse of a system. There is a government and it protects its authority very energetically, bravely and effectively, the more effectively because no one wants to deprive it of its authority.

[Question] This is nothing new. You had already mentioned this at a KKP meeting in July.

[Answer] Well, yes, exactly. Can you then say today: Let us stop at this point? Let us assume that the government comes up with some suggestion.... For instance, it was possible to buy for Z2 per copy at any newsstand a government program on extricating the country from the crisis. But even if I wished to support it and sought to persuade people to initiate amendments, suggest addenda, participate in large-scale discussions of even implement it, I would come up against a wall of indifference. Absolutely no one noticed this booklet -- it is as simple as that. No proposal of this kind can be put to the Polish public any longer. The mechanism of social decisionmaking must be set in motion. This situation is such that if the public were given a true item of information to the effect that the government has laid a golden egg, people would say that, first, it is not golden, second, that it is not an egg and, third, that it did not lay it but stole it. This is not funny, it is tragic. Both self-denial and hard work are needed to extricate ourselves from this crisis.

[Question] This is nothing new -- the government has also been telling us about self-denial and honest work.

[Answer] Let me put a question to you -- has the community any reason to believe that if it were to practice self-denial and begin to work hard, its efforts would not be wasted? It is difficult, especially now, to expect such confidence. Therefore, it is imperative to give people a representative system which can function and ensure that the community feels that it is master in its own house. In view of the situation, our programmatic proposals -- self-management, national councils and an economic social council -- are simply minimal.

[Question] Just a moment. A few days ago, during the congress, Walesa stated more or less this: Let us take over neither the Sejm nor the reins of government, but let us create such an arrangement in which three independent powers operate -- the party-administrative apparatus, self-management and trade unions.

[Answer] This is correct -- let us not take them over because we should not take them over. Neither let us take over self-managing organizations since, after all, self-managing organizations must be independent of the trade union. This also applies to national councils -- they must be independent.

[Question] And what about the party and administrative apparatus? Is it also to be self-managing and independent? Can you imagine that it would be so under your system?

[Answer] I am saying nothing on the subject -- everything is in the hands of the party and the government. Absolutely everything. For it would be socially unacceptable if Solidarity were to carry out reforms -- if it were to reform the government and state -- and then said: And now, boys, go ahead and rule; let everything be hunky-dory. You will be loved by all. Let us hope that forces will emerge in the party and the power apparatus which will put forward a reform program which would adapt such a system to the altered circumstances. I now maintain that even if there are such forces at present they are still too weak and not expansive enough.

[Question] In your opinion, is there no chance for such an arrangement in the party?

[Answer] No, I have not said this. You can never say that "there is no chance," but I am afraid that chances diminish from day to day.

[Question] What conditions must be fulfilled by the authorities to induce you and people close to you to begin to advise the Solidarity leadership to come to terms not only with the government but also with the party?

[Answer] Everything is in the hands of the party and no one else. The problem of coming to terms is a problem of realities, that is, concrete matters lying in the sphere of interests of both sides. No agreement can be reached unless partners have a joint sphere of interests.

[Question] But let us go back to the question of a concrete agreement....

[Answer] Well, in the text of the Gdansk agreement, in the text of the Constitution, and, consequently, in the way in which the establishment people think, we have been faced with a reversal of the logical order — accept the authorities irrespective of what they say and do. However, both sides must talk on a basis of concrete programs from which social acceptance is to ensue. And it can ensue from nothing else.

[Question] You have recently been promoting the concept of a government based on a national compact with the participation of three forces -- Solidarity, the party and the church. How is the party's leading role, which the trade union, after all, does not officially deny, to fit into this concept?

[Answer] Everything in this question has been misinterpreted. I have not promoted such an idea. Only once -- during a panel discussion in which assistant professors Stefan Kurowski and Jadwiga Staniszkis also participated -- have we looked so far ahead when assessing the situation. At one point, when discussing various possibilities, I mentioned the possibility of the formation of such a government. However, it must now be clearly stated that this is out of question at present. If it were to become clear that the agreement which I mentioned earlier could not be achieved for various reasons, a situation could, for instance arise where social impatience would lead to a state of affairs where people would no longer trust anyone. In such a situation, everything could begin to collapse. Only then the creation of such a body could be contemplated. I hope, however, that this possibility will remain exclusively in the realm of theoretical speculations.

[Question] This means that you indirectly accept the idea of Solidarity's participation in the government and of its sharing power?

[Answer] This is not what I mean. Neither the trade union nor the church would directly participate in such a committee. Solidarity must remain a trade union and the church must remain the church. However, these two forces could suggest the appointment to such a government, of certain generally respected people on whom they would bestow their full confidence. They would ask the community also to put its trust in those people. Obviously, I am referring neither to any Solidarity activists nor to the clergy.

[Question] Are the reforms which you have proposed in your programmatic resolution not bound to lead to constitutional changes in the country? After all, they would obviously lead to a reduction in the party's power.

[Answer] If the authorities were to say to Solidarity "be a trade union" and if this suggestion were treated seriously, the congress would adopt a resolution to the effect that we indeed are a trade union and should concentrate on the question of the cost of living. We would then agree to no changes, demand full compensations and stimulate the inflation spiral over and over again. We would become a seamen's trade union on board a sinking ship demanding wage increases instead of stopping the holes which are making the ship sink. It is the general situation in the country which has forced us to engage in activities inconsistent with the normal functioning of a trade union.

[Question] You have a very comprehensive system of views but it does not follow that it is a correct system. Its creation must have required much work and, since we have mentioned work, what do you live on if you were not paid for your work as adviser to the KKP?

[Answer] In fact, I live on this system of views. I sell them right and left. All my articles are immediately reprinted in very many newspapers which pay me well for them. I can manage.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

BRANCH TU LEADER COMMENTS ON CURRENT SITUATION

LD221128 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (PAP) -- PAP interviewed today Eugeniusz Mielnicki, the new chairman of the National Cooperation Committee of the Branch Trade Unions. Here are excerpts of what he said:

"We want the government of a socialist state to better cooperate with the Branch Unions and the trade union movement as whole. We want the government to treat us more than just partnerlike. Thus a change in the style of working of the whole administration is necessary."

"The Branch Trade Unions accept the right to strike as an inalienable right of the working class and the trade union movement. We do think, however, that the strike weapon should be used only as a last resort. In the present situation we abstain from strikes having in mind the responsibility for the fate of the country and the nation. If the government presents us with the motives behind and the principles of the proposed suspension of the right to strike, then each of the unions and the committee itself will take a stand on the matter."

"As concerns free Saturdays the Branch Trade Unions have from the very start expressed the opinion that Poland cannot yet afford them. We furthermore think that despite the raw materials and energy shortages, by introducing porper work organization and efficient technology much greater amount of goods for the market can be produced. In our ideological and programmatic assumptions we have come out in favour of the cooperation of all trade unions in the country."

"Our consistent striving for establishing contacts with the independent trade union Solidarity can be interpreted as a sign of our weakness, as a desire to gain a strong partner. That is not the truth because Branch Trade Unions, which unite 4 million working people, are strong enough to defend the interests of their members themselves. In recent months the Branch Trade Unions have undergone also qualitative changes. Only those people have remained in the unions who show the greatest courage, who are ideologically most sound and who do not change their views easily. There is now so much conviction, ability and organizational experience that we could organize a strike or protest much better than Solidarity. We do not do that because of the country's difficult situation."

POLITICAL PARTIES APPEAL FOR LAW, ORDER

LD221030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Today's local papers publish an appeal by the municipal liaison commission of the PZPR, ZSL and SD in connection with the events on 20 October. The appeal calls for respect of the law and respect for the orders of the forces of law and order, and calls for unemotional attitudes because in such situations a lack of caution could cause unforseeable consequences.

The executive of the party municipal committee in Katowice protested the methods applied by the instigators of this provocative incident. Members of the executive have applied to the city's inhabitants to resolutely counteract in the future any attempts to involve them in street disturbances.

The voivodship prosecutor has opened an investigation on the events in Katowice and those guilty will face judicial proceedings. The perpetrators will answer for distribution of illegal publications which strike at the political foundations of the state and our alliances, for causing a breach of the peace and the destruction of public and private property which resulted from the unlawful demonstration.

TRYBUNA LUDU: KANIA REPORT TO PZPR PLENUM 16 OCT

AU202030 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Oct 81 pp 3, 4

[Report read by PZPR First Secretary Stanislaw Kania to the 16 October Warsaw session of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "The Country's Political Situation and the Party's Key Tasks in Implementing the Ninth PZPR Congress Resolutions"]

[Text] Comrades, slightly less than 3 months ago we were leaving the congress hall after the conclusion of the ninth congress deliberations full of concern about the state of our country; but we were leaving satisfied that a good program of socialist renewal, of recovery of the party's strength, a program for emerging from the crisis and for the path of the country's development was the result of the deliberations. We were leaving with optimism and convinced that the congress work was supported by the party membership and by wide circles of society.

There are numerous proofs to confirm that the congress met with a fine public response. This concerns both the climate of the debates and the general program orientation. No one as yet has presented any other realistic alternative for organizing social life and for overcoming the economic crisis. Thus there arose a great opportunity to unite for this purpose and to multiply the efforts of the nation.

Antisocialist Forces Are Intentionally Trying To Diminish the Significance of the Ninth PZPR Congress

However, shortly after the congress we were already encountering a series of conflicts and tensions. Antisocialist forces were deliberately organizing a plan to undermine the significance of the congress and its resolutions; to counter it with actions leading to disorientation and chaos complicating the consolidation of forces around the party in order to overcome the crisis. There were strikes and demonstrations, and various forms of exerting pressure on the authorities were suggested. The most dangerous phenomenon was the organizing of the so-called hunger marches, days without press, and other forms of collective protest. The calm on the Polish streets was disturbed.

The Central Committee raised its voice with alarm but also with resolution on this subject at its second plenum.

An anti-Soviet campaign, alien to the feelings and interests of our nation, was launched on a broad scale. Acts of desecration of cemeteries and monuments in gratitude to Soviet soldiers who fell fighting for the liberation of our country have taken place. The country has been swamped with leaflets, posters and brochures full of slanderous propaganda against the Soviet Union and the friendly Polish-Soviet relations. Unfortunately, this dirty literature is published not only by various illegal groups, but also by numerous Solidarity cells. Thus this is a consciously planned activity.

This is why the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government had full grounds for the first protest which is contained in the known statement presented to our party and government.

There are no signs yet of an improvement in the economic situation; quite the opposite. In many areas difficulties are further increasing. Industrial production in the last 9 months was 13.5 percent lower in comparison with the same period last year. In comparison with 1977 the created national income decreased probably by a fourth. Europe's postwar history knows of no such violent drop in the national income. This drop is a catastrophe for the country's living standards and potential.

Our export possibilities are still extremely limited and increasingly smaller. The consequences are painfully affecting all of the economy, restricting the import of raw materials and materials for industrial and agricultural production and, as a result of this, supplies on the home market.

We are not meeting international obligations, including contracts and cooperation agreements of many years' standing with both socialist countries and with countries of the West. This drastically limits import possibilities.

Despite the authorities' efforts, the difficulties of supplying the market with basic foods, including rationed foods, continue to increase. Most of the supply difficulties result from objective causes--from the ever decreasing stream of farm produce deliveries from the rural to urban areas, from the ever decreasing industrial production and from an unabated orgy of buying.

Several measures have been taken which are aimed at improving the market situation by means of import purchases and at accelerating the development of the production of goods in shortest supply. A rise in prices of bread, cereal products and cigarettes has been introduced. The point of these decisions amounts to the fact that bread should cease to be a cheap fodder article. This is surely why there was not enough of it for the population. The rise in cigarette prices will reduce their consumption and will deprive them of the characteristics of convertible currency collected not by smokers but for profit purposes. Agriculture has yielded better production results than last year. A good potato harvest will form a basis for fully meeting the needs of the population and of industry, and it will also form the basis for the development of meat production.

The cereal and fodder yields are also higher. Despite this, we will purchase at least 7 million tons of grain and fodder from abroad. The assessment of the sugar beet harvest will enable an increase in the average supplies of sugar to the population. Despite the price increase for pigs for slaughter, procurement is rising only insignificantly. This is very important, because the difficulties on the meat market are serious. Therefore, one must still count on great market difficulties. The essence of the matter lies in this: that the increase in the incomes of the urban and rural population is occurring when supplies of agricultural produce and industrial goods are dropping. There is more and more money on the market but fewer and fewer goods. Therefore, the free market prices are rising and the phenomenon of speculation is growing to dangerous dimensions.

Both the construction industry and the countryside are complaining of a lack of cement and of other materials. This is because production is falling in those places as a result of the lack of coal. For this reason, too, housing construction is going poorly. This acutely restricts the number of new dwellings and enormously extends the waiting period for young families.

It must be said openly that alongside the disorganization of production and services, as a result of various kinds of strike action, exceptionally harmful consequences for the market in the sphere of supplies to the population and in economic life as a whole were brought about by the forced wage increases, going far beyond the possibilities of the goods supply. One can see with the naked eye today's harmful consequences of the premature introduction of work-free Saturdays without the necessary economic and organization safeguards. The negative results of the decision that was coerced with regard to coal extraction are increasingly obvious, and all sectors, including trade and services, are feeling these results.

Who Blocks the Authorities' Anticrisis Measures

And so, in these difficult conditions, the rightwing of Solidarity is continuing to block all successive anticrisis measures by the authorities. It is inspiring that blockade in a planned and conscious way. It is causing many workforces to allow themselves to be drawn into a campaign ruining an already extremely weakened economy. At first, the lack of a real, convincing report on the state of the economy was mentioned. When it was compiled, published and taken note of, the assessments and recommendations contained in it were ignored. Aggressive criticism was, however, leveled against the lack of an anticrisis plan to stabilize the economy. When such a plan was worked out by the government together with outstanding specialists and then accepted by the Sejm, the paralyzing of its implementation began.

One can point out many examples. The most indicative, and of key significance for the whole national economy, is the issue of coal extraction. No reasons or agruments can justify halting the increase in extraction in face of the country's enormous needs and the threats of the approaching winter. These people who are doing this evidently want the country to live in the dark and cold and factories to come to a standstill for lack of power.

What value have declarations, appeals and promises which we hear every so often from the Solidarity leaders when, in practice, their activity can be viewed as blocking successive anticrisis moves? This is no longer the sum of isolated incidents but a line for inciting conflict on new issues all the time, in new areas. Let us say this openly: This is a line for worsening the crisis in order to create conditions for taking over political power.

If, then, it is true to say that the source of the sociopolitical crisis was, to a great extent, the pre-August economic errors, then today it is true to say that at the source of the post-August worsening of the economic situation lie, to a decisive extent, political reasons, caused by the realization of the ominous slogan: The Worse the Better.

This has to be said clearly because it is the truth. Antisocialist forces, striving to realize their political goals, are banking on an economic and market catastrophe. The proofs confirming this assessment are too many. Everyone should be aware of that fact, aware of the vital need to reverse the course of events that are so dangerous to the nation.

The Rightwing Current Dominated the Solidarity Congress

Comrades, an important event in the life of the country that aroused great interest was the first Solidarity congress. That interest is understandable, because the genesis of that organization is known. Its influence on the nature of tensions is also known, as are the ambitions of its various leaders. Finally, the organization has considerable strength. At the Central Committee's third plenary session, we expressed both our justified fear and the social expectations regarding the Solidarity congress.

We all know that it is not a homogeneous organization. While it is basically composed of workers, there is no lack in the various Solidarity cells of groups with anarchistic views and attitudes. However, it is no secret that the union is being penetrated by extreme rightwing forces and has become a safe haven for all Polish reaction, and a training ground for counterrevolutionary forces and groups who do not conceal that their aim is to overthrow socialism.

For that reason too it was very important to see which trend would gain the upper hand in Solidarity -- would set the tone of debates, the program and the composition of the authorities. Unfortunately, the results of the first round of the congress were no reason for calming public opinion. On the contrary, the actual lack of constructive proposals or rather the presence of a number of congress resolutions that brutally interfered with the powers of the constitutional bodies of authority and with the internal affairs of the fraternal socialist countries was responsible for a further serious rise in social and political tension.

This situation, dangerous for the bases of our national and state existence, was assessed by us in the Politburo statement. We maintain that assessment in its entirety. The Council of Ministers took an unambiguous stand. Our premier, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, appealed to Solidarity from the Sejm platform for a change in the previous line. Words of disquiet in connection with the Solidarity congress were expressed by the supreme authorities of the ZSL and the Democratic Party.

Despite the fact that the worker trend in the trade union made itself known in the second part of the congress -- a trend with which the voices of a few other activists often concurred -- all of the congress deliberations were dominated by the intention to undermine the constitutional foundations of the system of government.

Evidence of this is seen in the open strivings by Solidarity extremists to violate the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements and to make Solidarity into an opposition political organization. Under the slogan of a loosely-defined "self-governing republic," the intention is to overthrow socialism in Poland.

It is an unknown practice in the world for a trade union to claim the right, as Solidarity does, to represent the entire nation and to be exclusively right.

These totalitarian ambitions and intolerance which were manifested at the congress with regard to everything which does not fall in line with Solidarity, cause that organization to be, instead of one of the driving forces of socialist renewal, the main brake on socialist renewal and the main threat to the stabilization of the Polish state.

Although more realistic views clashed with irresponsible recklessness, the congress debates sought to determine the planes of confrontation in various areas. As for the area of the economy, the main plane of struggle against the socialist system was identified as a specific action line with regard to workers' self-management -- as a balancing act between the threat of boycotting the Sejm law and the plan for exploiting this law to achieve Solidarity's aims.

An aspiration to effect a general exchange of the leading cadres of the economy for people with links to Solidarity found expression at the congress session. Such a move would simultaneously deprive the party and the state authorities of any influence at all over the cadres policy in this area.

In the ideological sphere primary stress was placed on negating the achievements of People's Poland. Under the slogan of removing the lies from history, an inflammatory campaign against Polish-Soviet relations is developing. This is accompanied by an attempt to rehabilitate the leading bourgeois politicians and those ideas which led Poland to its doom. The functioning of the mass media and subordinating them to political and ideological goals is regarded as one of the fields of struggle.

Resolutions were also adopted that aim at increasing influence on young people. It was decided to interfere with the program of teaching history, the Polish language and social sciences and to support destructive actions directed against the socialist youth unions.

It is significant that, being a workers organization by composition and a trade union by declaration, Solidarity cuts itself off from the century-old traditions of the Polish workers movement and invokes the ideological heritage of the movement's adversaries.

Amendments have been introduced into the Solidarity statute. It emerges from these amendments that the union is transforming itself into a mass organization with a large degree of centralization and discipline which, as we know, is often forced. The attitude of the congress to our party was very significant. With one exception, everyone who made his party membership apparent had no chance of being elected to the supreme authorities. The same applied to ZSL and Democratic Party functionaries. It is said that it is necessary to set up a front against the PZPR as an organization that supposedly "has no roots in national traditions."

Such a stand is taken toward the party that is the bearer of the traditions of and credit for uniting the struggle against Hitlerism and the struggle for revolutionary social changes into a single victorious orientation.

Against this background, is not the dissolution of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the handing over of its heritage to Solidarity especially telling? The congress received with ovation the announcement to that effect. The character of KOR and the character and ambitions of its organizers are common knowledge in the country and abroad. What then does the congress' gesture of praising KOR and of electing KOR and KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] activists to Solidarity's authorities mean? There were no obstacles and restrictions in this regard. What then was the point?

The truth is that precisely those two subversive groups are seeking to take over complete control of Solidarity and to transform it into an opposition political party.

The congress gave expression to the way it wants to shape the international position of Solidarity and Poland's position in the world. Only facts count. It is on such a basis that the Central Committee ought to make assessments. Let cool, careful analysis be binding here. Thus, what was meant by the message to the working people of East Europe, overlooking the union structures existing in them, and by the call for them to imitate Solidarity? Does not this lack of an invitation to the trade unions of the socialist countries to attend the congress speak for itself?

Yet at the same time there was broad participation by the extreme rightwing union headquarters of the capitalist countries. Is there not a connection between the demand for a considerable reduction in the frugal Polish defense expenditure, compared with the arms of the West, between the anti-Soviet campaign conducted by the official links of Solidarity, and the unusually lavish material aid for this organization from the reactionary centers of the West?

There Can Be No Discussion on Matters Concerning the Foundations of the State's and the People's Security

So what is the issue here? One cannot interpret this any other way than this: Solidarity, active in People's Poland, demonstrates by means of its leading groups, its ideological affiliation to another world -- the West. Such a concept is foreign to workers' views and interests. It is the way to Poland's doom.

The contemporary world is divided by the line of the fundamental contradictions of our times: It opposes the capitalist forms of organization of the economy and supports the aspirations of the peoples to solve the problems of social justice on the basis of socialism. That line of fundamental contradiction is, at the same time, the line of the fundamental division between the political systems of the world.

People's Poland, from the moment of its birth, came out in favor of the socialist path of development; of belonging to the system of the socialist states; and of friendship and close cooperation with all of our neighbors, the countries of the socialist community.

All actions leading toward a violation of friendship, cooperation, and alliance with the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union, constitute not only a violation of the ideological and political assumptions of our party, but also strike directly at the fundamental interests of the state and the nation. More -- they are a betrayal of these interests; they contradict elementary commonsense, contradict the nation's instinct for self-preservation!

It is necessary to put this question to Solidarity: Does it know to which world it belongs? To a world which -- meticulously seeking new paths and solutions of the political order -- subordinates everything to the cause of peace and socialism; or to that which pushes humanity toward an increase in the arms race, behind which are hidden capitalist profits, and the desire to oppose the ideas of socialism?

Between these two worlds, governed by diametrically opposed scales of values, there is no transitional zone in the Polish conditions, no blurred line. Meanwhile, the Solidarity congress, holding its debates in Poland's Gdansk, behaved as though the matter of Poland's belonging to the community and alliance of the socialist states was a matter for discussion.

In matters concerning the foundations of the security of the state and the nation, there is not and cannot be any discussion. States and nations do not live in political vacuums, but in real political systems which guarantee them this security. It is therefore no coincidence that both the socialist and the capitalist states in Europe have linked their security precisely with military systems: the Warsaw Pact and the Atlantic Treaty.

But the security of the contemporary world is not only restricted to the military sphere of this issue. It embraces most of the spheres of economic, political and social life. I will speak more simply and clearly so that there should be no misunderstanding: The logic of the political order, the logic of its internal coherence and efficacy of action, does not allow the introduction into the state organism, to the public life of the country, of systems which are ideologically hostile toward us. We cannot allow this.

Matters have become more clear. The views of the extremist forces, the counterrevolutionary forces, are gaining an ever more dominant influence on Solidarity: They have gained a dominant influence on the union's program and on its basic political motifs. It was through their actions that the Solidarity congress became a challenge to the party, to the people's power, to all the forces of socialism. It is they who are moving toward transforming Solidarity into a political party opposed to socialism.

We have always stressed the significance of the political unity of the trade union movement. At the ninth congress our party recognized that the indispensable functions of the trade unions are the consistent defense of the interests and rights of employees, and joint participation in multiplying the national income and in forming the social and economic policy of the state. The party expressed the will for open, equal treatment of the trade unions, and for recognizing them as respected partners in all social and economic matters.

Solidarity can be an important constructive force, when in conformity with the spirit of the August 1980 agreements it expresses itself in program and practice on the side of socialist renewal and directs its energy toward reform and work, instead of wasting it for negation and destruction. On this not only does the future of the union depend but also, to quite a considerable extent, does the present and future of our country. The majority of the trade union movement properly understands its functions. It respects the principles of Poland's political order, the law, and its own statutes, a fact which does not hamper it from adopting a stance against specific decisions or actions by the organs of the state and economic administration. Nor does it restrict its independence and self-management.

On the day of the national assembly of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions we appeal to its participants to continue the struggle for the socialist shape of the changes carried out in the country and to cherish the workers' traditions, lasting several dozen years, of the Polish trade union movement and also its class character.

In the activity of these unions, as in the movement of the Autonomous Trade Unions, we see an expression of agreement, an expression of understanding of the responsibility for the everyday conditions of working people, and the patriotic joint responsibility for the destinies of the homeland.

We Need To Inspect Party Ranks

Comrades, the party has great responsibilities regarding the national situation. Its condition and the future of Poland are closely linked, which stems from the historical mission of a Marxist-Leninist party as the guiding force in socialist transformations.

The first thing the party needs is a realistic assessment of the situation. For this reason we have paid close attention to reactions to the well-known statement of the Politburo on the situation after the first round of the Solidarity congress. The Politburo statement has become an important factor for the mobilization of forces in the party, but at the same time a factor of polarization. It has brought to light views and standpoints. Perhaps it is good that this should be so. Today we know more about ourselves than before the statement.

The majority of party organizations, a large number of different organizational levels and very broad circles of the aktivs interpreted the document with due seriousness, with comprehension, and even with relief, as a platform for consolidating the party in the fact of considerable perils, as a call for ideological and organizational mobilization.

Many such organizations have even commenced a dialogue on the subjects dealt with in the statement with Solidarity bodies at their enterprises -- a dialogue that has frequently been crowned with success.

Many party members belonging to Solidarity have recovered their party identity, have taken a different view of their tasks in Solidarity and have attempted to influence their trade union comrades. Unfortunately, this feature is not true of the entire party. There are also highly disturbing happenings, which must not be ignored.

Not infrequently some comrades identify the profoundly true thesis, which has been painfully reaffirmed by life many times, that the party must not dissociate itself from the masses -- from the workers class -- by passively succumbing to moods, especially to moods created precisely by Solidarity propagandists.

Among the political problems facing the party organizations, one of the most important is the issue of simultaneous membership of the party and Solidarity. In light of the events at the Solidarity congress, this is an issue of national significance. However, this issue is also pertinent wherever activity which is aimed against socialism, against the party and against the Polish-Soviet alliance predominates in local Solidarity organs. The party is one, and one cannot at the same time be a member of our party and one that is hostile to it. Every party organization must have its political identity and a clear profile.

It is urgently necessary to carry out analyses in all the organizations in which the situation is difficult. Such analyses often lay bare not views but the lack of views, and not a conscious opposition but a common fear of the millieu. But we in the party can afford neither a lack of views nor a lack of courage.

There are also party organizations that have chosen for themselves an all too easy position: to submit demands and to give advice in all possible directions -- to the party leadership and to Solidarity. They ask everyone to be moderate, to honor agreements and to search for compromises. They see no other tasks for themselves than dispensing advice; but the thing is that the workers class and the people need a party of action and deeds. In some organizations a new wave -- as if a backlash -- of demands for squaring accounts with people has appeared. We should understand and value the party's great sensitivity to all irregularities and its effort to mete out justice to the guilty. But we should see these issues in correct proportions.

There is no doubt that the Central Party Control Commission should be more effective -- but not rash -- in its activities, and should inform the party on the results of what it has done. We must not allow a situation to develop in which new reasons for rehabilitation could appear. We had enough of that in past decades.

What we also need is the more effective work of the prosecuting organs and courts and the publication of the results of this work. We need consistent control and supervision over the activities of the administration. However, we also need action on the part of the party and its agencies and aktivs to ensure that we are not endlessly entangled in squaring accounts. The moral sensitivity of party members and our feeling of guilt for the past are used with great perfidy by our political adversary to spread a sense of frustration. This we and all party members should also know. In almost all cases the guilty have been made to bear the consequences of party responsibility, and court proceedings are underway. No one wants to hide or paper over anything.

The commission set up in line with the ninth party congress decision will examine in a more general sense the issues of responsibility. The commission, which was set up to examine the sources of crises in People's Poland, has had its first session and begun its work.

There is also a proposal for the Central Committee to set up from among its members a commission that will supervise on its behalf the proceedings involving "squaring accounts."

We have already taken an unambiguous stand on the centrifugal tendencies in the party -- tendencies such as the horizontal structures.

It would seem that the congress clearly explained the permanent character of the delegates' mandates, the delegates' powers and their mutual relations with party agencies.

One must be particularly sensitive to everything that threatens the cohesion and unity of the party, and resolutely counter it. We wish to build this unity according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the program of the ninth party congress. What is the meaning of the call appearing in some quarters today for the convocation of a national party conference? This is a harmful call, the work of splitters.

Our party wants to be, is and must remain profoundly, genuinely democratic. However, it has its charter, which sanctions this democracy and determines its boundaries. The principles of the charter, the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, must never be contravened with impunity, particularly at a difficult time for the party. Consequently, the situation in the party is complex.

During the congress we said that life itself, the very practice of political struggle, amounts to an inspection of party ranks. We do not have to be a party of 3 million members. The primary fact is that we are not such a party because it is not statistical numbers that matter.

An inspection must be made of party ranks so that plans can be built on the real forces of the party, a party whose every link must be a bastion of struggle against the threat to socialism, a center of initiative and inventiveness, transforming its surroundings. It is necessary to hold a collection of party cards. Those comrades who want to act energetically and to struggle for the ideals of the party will be given new cards. The Politburo is presenting this idea to the Central Committee. People who have found themselves in the party by accident could without conflict part company with it, and the party organizations would have the opportunity to count their ranks, gather their forces and take action.

Regaining Trust Is Necessary for Party Activities

The decisions made by the party under the conditions in which we are living are of special significance. All resolutions -- from the Central Committee through the basic party organization -- must be made in the sober consideration of reality, resources and opportunities. This must be done so that they can be implemented, because only their implementation attests to our social and national usefulness. What the entire party needs today is a great general movement in favor of translating our resolutions and program into social reality.

Great difficulties in the organization of party activity stem from the present form of the country's administrative division. We are examining the expediency of setting up regional links of party activity, especially for the organization of the party's ideological work. A large proportion of criticism is aimed at the executive bodies of the Central Committee. The Politburo's activity must be based on a profound analysis of the situation and a forecast of its development. Political planning in different circumstances must be realized on such a basis. That is something we have lacked.

Consistency of conduct is a universal requirement. Consistency, even the most severe, has nothing in common with pigheaded obstinacy. If a decision proves wrong and if circumstances change, it should be canceled; but this should be done in such way that those who are supposed to implement the decision are quite clear what it is all about. We should concede that our conduct in this regard and that of other party agencies is not always and in not all cases is as it should be. The right conduct is what creates trust in the party, and there is no unity without trust.

One more thing about trust. We have picked fresh authorities from top to bottom of the party. We have restored the rank of control over them and established mechanisms for this control. Through the joint efforts of the whole party we have drawn up a program platform for further unity and internal cohesion. We have not yet fully restored the trust needed for the activity of the entire party. This must not in the least weaken party control over all the authorities elected from top to bottom.

All Strength for the State's More Effective Defense

Esteemed comrades, you know perfectly well that the reinstatement of the functioning of authority must be recognized as the party's primary objective. This is today the fundamental cause of the difficulty, and the extremely important direction of its improvement. The state is a special value, won in battle by the blood of the sons and daughters of the Polish nation, shaped as a result of the effort of millions of working people. The Polish People's Army, whose anniversary we celebrated a few days ago, fought for the socialist nature of this state in new just borders. The present state is the historical achievement of many generations of Poles. Today this state is threatened.

This is not an external threat, as used to be the case, although we cannot fail to notice the particular activeness of the anti-Polish, anticommunist centers of imperialist subversion known for years. It is threatened above all from within, mainly by forces whose cooperation with those centers abroad is beyond doubt. It is economically threatened by the progressive decline in production and in national income, by the destructive action aimed against work, by the weakening of our possibilities for economic and trade cooperation abroad. It is threatened by the danger of unleashing in it antagonisms between town and country, threatened by the incessant exploitation of the mood of social dissatisfaction with state organs, by the continued weakening of the possibilities of their action, their efficiency by the method of attacks from outside, and by destruction.

The opponents of the socialist state endeavor to paralyze systematically the constructive undertakings of its authorities by employing various methods: noisy propaganda, demagogic rumors, unleashing strikes and other protest actions, threatening such actions, and also not shunning the methods of personal intimidation of representatives of state organs and institutions.

The effect of these actions are the growing difficulties in extricating our country from the crisis, in the work aimed at relieving the life of the population. The effect of these actions is the striking reduction of discipline and, in its wake, the intensifying signs of violations of the law, of law and order, and of weakening the internal security of the state.

The position of our state is also weakened in the international arena. Our allies trust has been seriously violated, and also that of other states which cooperate with us. This is reflected, for it must be reflected, in our participation in the international division of labor, in the extent of the scale of economic and social links. This produces negative effects for the living standard of our country's inhabitants.

Following earlier attacks on the leading cadre of the state organs, on the Citizens' Militia and other organs of justice, and on the party and state apparatus, attacks have recently been launched on the Sejm and People's Councils. We note the attempts at humiliating the dignity of deputies, at weakening their prestige, and at restricting the indispensable constitutional freedom of their actions. The intentions are obvious. The aim is to paralyze the fundamental state institutions, in order to replace them, in accordance with the existing scenario, by a different structure of authority having an antisocialist character.

In the period separating us from the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the party has taken a number of initiatives aimed at introducing essential changes in the existing state system in accordance with the socialist character of the state and the expectations of society. Important decisions aimed at a consistent development of socialist democracy were made by the ninth congress. These decisions are gradually but consistently being put into practice.

Further legal acts are being prepared. Our party, profoundly democratic in its essence, is not afraid of democratization of the state to match contemporary needs and the degree of development of society. The democratism of our state has a class character.

Institutions of socialist democracy must never be allowed to become the field of free play for the opponents of socialism. The development of democracy must have nothing in common with moves toward anarchy. Meanwhile, we are dealing with numerous signs of this very path.

Are we encountering those signs with adequate strength? Are we able to defend our state against the present threats? The answers to those questions often contain critical observations, especially on the part of party aktivs.

We should not ignore those accusations even if the impatience characterizing their substance is not based on a fair appraisal of the situation. There is no doubt that the intentions behind such accusations are candid and just. The Politburo and government as well as all party levels and all state power agencies should draw conclusions from those questions. All party members, especially those active in the state and administrative apparatus must draw such conclusions.

The most effective defense of the state must be concern for the efficient and disciplined operation of all its cells; for a rapid, sensible and involved implementation of the tasks facing them. We must defend more persistently and consistently the unjustly attacked zealous party activists and self-sacrificing managerial cadres in the state and economic apparatus. But the party and its echelons and organizations also have a duty to control and settle accounts with people appointed to the appropriate posts, demanding of them that they carry out their duties honestly.

The state agencies should develop an offensive so that the law is respected, public order is ensured and the state of impunity of those whose activities openly hit at the foundations of our system and at our allied relations is liquidated. It is the duty of all party members to assist [those agencies] most extensively.

In the immediate future, the struggle for the socialist nature of our state will be played out in the factories. This will be a struggle for the socialist nature of the enterprise in light of the act on state enterprises and workers self-management. The concept of worker self-management, approved by the Third Central Committee Plenum and then, with certain changes, approved by the Sejm, is being opposed in a demagogic way by anarchists whose final goal is to undermine the basic structures of the socialist state, depriving it, in essence, of influence over the direction of economic policy and, as a further consequence subjecting the commodity-money market to spontaneous processes. This is also an aim which strikes at the leading role of the party in the socialist state.

In Solidarity's leading cells the issues of a referendum on the Sejm acts on self-management and on enterprises is being considered. This is a manifestation of their arrogant attitude to the supreme, sovereign organ of state authority, and must be met with firm opposition. Concern for setting up genuine workers self-management; concern for the proper, effective introduction of the economic reform in workplaces -- these are the most important and most urgent duties of party echelons and organizations. This is the basic task of the party.

An important goal of that struggle is to get the country out of its profound crisis, to safeguard the vital interests of working people. There must be an urgent strengthening of the state's economic power. We should also be considering this: can the generally unchallenged right to strike be maintained today? Should this right not be curtailed for a definite period, for the common good? Should we, the Central Committee of our party, not be the initiators of the concept of stopping all strikes for the very difficult autumn and winter months? It is our right and duty to make the whole of society and all its representatives aware of the seriousness of the economic situation, of the dangers attendant on the possibility of every additional disruption to the already weak pulse of production.

I propose, therefore, that the Central Committee examine such a draft initiative, discuss it, and make the appropriate decisions and authorizations on behalf of the Politburo obligatory for all party cells. There are no lack of statements trying to minimize the cost of strikes.

Perhaps such reactions fit into a purely book-keeping convention, concerning direct losses. On a social scale, however, on a scale of violation of labor discipline and morality, of lessening the power to manage the state economy, strikes, or even threats to strike, bring enormous losses and they must not be increased.

Esteemed comrades, the backbone of political life in People's Poland is the system of a three-party alliance of the PZPR, the ZSL and the Democratic Party. It must achieve much greater significance. We must create better conditions for real political independence on the basis of the socialism of our partners, in accordance with their ideological identity and program differentiation. An institutional expression of this political alliance is the Commission for Cooperation between the PZPR and other political parties. We want to activate its operation constantly, so that it becomes the base of coordinating mutual interparty cooperation and for agreeing on our stands on important state issues.

Alliance Based on Socialist Principles

The party as the spokesman of the general national interests is proposing an initiative for broadening the formula of the national interests is proposing an initiative for broadening the formula of the National Unity Front as a platform for national conciliation, gathering together all forces of united patriotism, all those who are ready for constructive action for the good of their homeland. Our proposition for the creation of a lasting platform for the consolidation of the forces of good sense and civic responsibility stems from the above reasons and from a concern for the party to fulfill its obligations to the whole nation.

The party does not claim the right to a monopoly of concern for the country. We direct the general offer of an alliance to all organizations and social circles. There is one condition, an incontrovertible [nieprzekraczalny] condition: recognition of the inviolability of the fundamental principles of the socialist constitutional order and solicitude for the alliance which define Poland's place in the world and which jointly guarantee its independent and secure, peaceful existence.

It is understandable that in a socialist society there can occur, and in practice there do exist, various viewpoints and various expectations arising from the various interests of individual social groups, professional or local aspirations. We all know how the state of relations between the state and the church is for our situation. The state's religious policy is not of a passing nature and will be continued. The needs of religious believers meet with understanding, and the possibilities of the church are appreciated. And that is the very reason why we react with disquiet to manifestations of the exploitation of religious feelings and the authority of the church for political purposes which are contrary to the interests of the state and the nation. We count on this changing. It ought to change.

We stand by the position that in resolving the contradictions which appear in reality today in society, the main method is dialogue and accord. Only that method permits the alleviation of contradictions, the coordination of interests, the determination of a priority of goals, and their timely implementation. Obviously, that method does not apply and cannot apply to the enemies of socialism. Today the Poles' patriotism and wisdom must be expressed in supporting just such a direction! Our stance was confirmed in the Politburo's 16 September statement, in which we stated our readiness and the need for constructing an alliance of all those -- an agreement with everyone -- who are not against socialism and to whom the cause of the homeland and its rescue is dear.

A vision of such an agreement was presented at the ninth party congress. It meets with the support of the allied parties. We believe that, in accordance with the Constitution, agreement ought to serve the consolidation of democracy; the implementation of social justice and the rule of law in line with the principles of the socialist system; the fostering of creative and productive work; thrift social initiatives and domestic peace; the linking of the social forces' activity with the state's efforts to overcome the crisis, beginning with the most urgent tasks of mobilizing forces and resources before the winter; the restoration of Poland's international prestige and credibility as an ally; and the strengthening of its sovereign and secure existence.

At all levels the national alliance ought to be broadly open to all forces and all citizens who recognize and wish to act within the constitutional framework. That also applies to all the trade unions, including Solidarity. It embraces all social organizations. It grants an important voice to the creative, scientific and technical associations, the sociocultural and regional associations. It appeals to the patriotism of all currents in the veterans' movement. It represents a platform for national conciliation between all patriots in Poland.

The Need for Great Social Mobilization

Comrades, in the situation which seems to have reached an impasse we must adopt the only assumption; for the nation there is not, and there cannot be, a situation without a way out. We are capable of solving all problems, even the most difficult, in the immediate and the most distant future. Every solution calls for sacrifices and joint payment of the price. The only price we must not pay is the supreme price. Understood in this way, the responsibility for the fate of the nation is at the same time the main platform for the consolidation and mobilization of the forces of the entire party.

At the present stage this is our historic mission, which can be compared to the breakthrough of the forties when out of the program of the Polish Workers' Party [PPR] and the whole democratic camp there arose a new Poland.

The general program of the ninth congress demands in the current conditions a specific concentration of all actions and ideas around issues as elementary today as they are important for the whole future of the country. We are living in extraordinary times. The program of socialist renewal carries a chance for Poland. We know, however, that these times also carry a great threat to socialism, to the national existence, and may bring economic disaster. For that reason the government should be equipped with the right and given the confidence of our party and society to use all means which prove to be essential to defend socialism, to restore law and order, and to stop destructive processes in the national economy.

It is important to understand our obligations against the wide background of the program for overcoming the crisis. But we must also always remember those problems and issues which determine the situation of working people every day. So a great mobilization of the party, of state institutions and of social organizations is needed to prepare the whole economy to survive the winter period. This is an exceptionally difficult, and exceptionally responsible and complex task.

In the first place, we must ensure safeguarding the basic living conditions of the population, supplies of food, clothing, footwear and heating. The government plan of action in the winter period, linked with the campaign of social self-defense, is not only a package of government measures but can become the driving force for constructive cooperation among the state authorities, the trade unions and social self-managements for extricating Poland from the crisis.

The government initiative deserves support for setting up, jointly with all trade unions, a commission whose aim would be to agree on specific measures regarding the issue of getting out of the crisis. Implementing and, if necessary, modifying the economic stabilization program is a task of monumental importance. There are various discussions augmenting this program. Experiences to date prompt comments which, if accepted, would make the planned stabilization measures feasible. We propose that free Saturdays be given up in the autumn and winter periods in those enterprises which can be assured of having raw material supplies for regular production. This presents no mean opportunity to improve our extremely difficult situation.

This is a difficult issue, but it cannot feasibly be replaced today by any other solution. Mining work is particularly significant. This is a sector of the working class which has the hardest and most dangerous work. Today the miners' toil is saving the country and giving work to others. A system of special privileges for miners must be introduced to the extent that our state can afford. This is necessary, it is essential -- essential not just in the interests of the miners, but in the interests of all society. At the beginning of next week, the Politburo will examine in Silesia the entire range of problems in coal mining and in the miners' working and living conditions.

It is essential to more rapidly and perceptibly enliven the small-scale industry sector and to build that sector on a wider scale, as a permanent sector in our economy. It is an element both of the stabilization plan and of the entire economic reform. In this plan we see one of the guarantees that the market will be enriched and that the prices of the new commodities will not be speculatively high.

In the economic agricultural sector, decisive for the population's standard of living, the operating of price incentives is becoming less and less effective. Supplying agriculture with the means of production moves into first place. This is the only path for rebuilding normal economic ties between the town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, and for rebuilding harmonized interests of the workers and peasants; it is the path for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

We also consider as purposeful the continuation of the socialist countries' efforts to develop our production potential on principles of mutual advantage.

Consolidation of Socialist Democracy Is Foundation of All Reforms

It is necessary to continue the program of introducing reforms in all areas. Our programmatic stance is not devoid of risk, but it contains a chance which must be boldly exploited. We have not stated and we do not state that it is first necessary to overcome the economic crisis before carrying out reform. We are aware that time is acting against us in everything unless we manage in time to mobilize our sociopolitical energies. We shall not overcome our economic difficulties without a realistic prospect for better organization of every aspect of our life, without reforms which are a neglected need, and constitute the main conclusion from all the crises to date.

The foundation of all reforms, and the common denominator, is the development of a realistic responsibility in both the community and the nation for their own destiny while strengthening socialist democracy. The first expression of consolidating socialist democracy are the bills on the enterprise and on the workforce self-management. These bills constitute the beginning of the plan for the great regulation of political order -- as envisaged by the bills on the trade unions, the People's Councils, and the cooperatives.

Political experience and the planned legislative thinking should consolidate the new role of the trade unions in the socialist state. This is to a great degree a pioneering action which may end with success only if the state never deprives the unions of their autonomous rights to represent the workers' interests, and if the new trade unions do not become a political force -- never mind under what name -- fighting for authority against authority.

In practice, this would mean putting the working people's interests in second place, people who want to have an independent and effective union representation. This would mean not improving the state's role in serving the community -- something which is and remains a reforming need -- but paralyzing the state itself in all of its actions -- at which point the discussions about reforms, about democracy, about a better organization of work in our state, about the social agreements and negotiations would end -- since the state was, is and must remain ruled by one authority, democratic authority, controlled, but one, and therefore effective in its action, particularly action in crisis conditions.

The situation in Poland and of Poland is of European and global significance and is a vital factor of the general development of international political, economic and military relations.

The optimum conditions for Poland's existence within the present borders were created as an historical fact after World War II, on the principle of replacing antagonistic relations with the Soviet Union with relations of alliance, common interests and advantageous cooperation.

Although so vital in our political philosophy, the notion of the interests of the state has not been wholly taken up by the content of Polish-Soviet relations, because if it had it would have to be regarded as no more than necessity, whereas what is at stake is socialist Poland's great positive chance within the socialist community.

To Make Poland's Position in Socialist Community Credible

The crisis has subjected this chance to dangerous trials, all the more so since in conditions of political and historical disorientation, especially that of the younger generation, remnants of anti-Soviet viewpoints poison people's minds and obfuscate an understanding of Polish interests. In this matter, there must be no half-hearted declarations, equivocal stands or failures to speak out, at a time when forces hostile to socialism and the old and new anti-Soviet centers wish to turn patriotism, which is Poland's salvation, into a fatal nationalism.

Our party has an interest in seeing that the basis of the Polish-Soviet alliance has as wide a political, ideological and psychological support as possible within the country -- not monopolized by any forces, but constituting a stable element of national awareness and of the political-state culture of Poles.

A special responsibility of our party is to do everything to halt the poisoning of minds with anti-Soviet propaganda and to make Poland's position as an ally in the socialist community, which today constitutes the principal guarantee of our security, independence and the sovereignty of the state within the present borders, trustworthy.

Poland and the Soviet Union also have the same interest in the question of rapidly surmounting our crisis.

It is our duty to be aware of the fact that the prolonged regress, slumping production and economic chaos, which put in doubt our economic partnership with our neighbors, also put in doubt our neighbors' readiness to cooperate with us.

An integral part of our program to combat the crisis is to preserve economic relations -- especially with the socialist countries -- to develop and strengthen them, as well as to preserve such relations with the Western countries in circumstances of considerable debt and foreign currency starvation. It is quite clear that the restoration and expansion of the export capabilities of our economy are the only effective way of eliminating here the difficulties connected with the crisis.

That means that in the meantime we must continue talks for rescheduling our debts and for obtaining convertible currencies to buy food and the necessary resources to stop the slump of industrial production and the national income, and to embark on the road of economic stabilization. This will make it possible to restore the paying ability of our state as a debtor and partner in international economic relations.

Esteemed comrades, our situation is extremely complex. The direction for mastering it was defined by the program of the ninth congress. This is incumbent on everyone. Today it must be recognized that the leading thought of all of our actions must, above all, be the defense of socialism against the counterrevolutionary threat; the protection of the national being; and the continuation of the line of accord, which is understood to be orientation toward a broad alliance of all those who are not against socialism, all those who want to act for the cause of our common homeland's prosperity.

OLSZOWSKI, OTHERS VISIT LOCAL PARTY AKTIVS

Socioeconomic Situation Viewed

LD222018 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The resolutions of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum and their course are the subject of talks, discussions and meetings throughout the country.

A meeting took place in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski between Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and the party aktiv of the steel plant and the town. The results of the fourth Central Committee Plenum were discussed. A great deal of time was devoted to matters connected with the country's socioeconomic situation, especially shortages.

Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE met with the party and economic aktiv of the Srodmiescie district of Lodz. He drew attention to the most essential elements of the country's economic situation and stressed that the way out of a crisis sometimes calls for adoption of drastic means. He also said that there should be decided privileges for miners and farmers.

In reply to a resolution of the crews of the copper basin, a delegation consisting of Marian Wozniak, party Central Committee secretary, and Zbigniew Szalajda, minister of mining and machine industry, arrived today at Legnica Voivodship. The Legnica voivoda, Zdzislaw Barczewski, outlined the economic situation in the voivodship. He stated that despite the enormous supply difficulties there had nevertheless been success in improving trading organization and in streamlining the system of sales by coupons. The effects of the actions by the administrative authorities should be perceptible in November. Minister Szalajda stated, among other things: Food supplies cannot be separated from the production of coal, machines or copper. Work productivity has fallen, production has dropped, yet the tasks are growing. Marian Wozniak, discussing party problems, spoke of the need to conduct a political struggle in defense of the state's most vital interests.

In the course of a meeting between a group of lecturers and tutors of party training and the Secretariat of the Olsztyn Voivodship PZPR Committee, the streamlining of ideological and propaganda work of the party was considered. Wlodzimierz Morkzyszczak, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the voivodship committee, took part in the meeting.

The works party organization in the roller-bearing factory in Krasnik has sent a telegram to Wojciech Jaruzelski. As well as congratulations on the occasion of his election, the telegram contains the statement that the works party organization expects the introduction of a firm and just economic and social policy. It also expresses the conviction that the resolutions of the ninth congress and of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum will be consistently embodied in life, through the agency of the first secretary of the Central Committee.

Olszowski Talks With Aktiv

LD221656 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] A meeting between Stefan Olszowski and the party aktiv of the steel plant and city of Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski began this afternoon to discuss the difficult social situation and shortages in supplies. The latter initiated a local Solidarity strike alert at the Ostrowiec steel plant. A referendum has been organized among the workforce to decide whether they support a strike fixed for 3 November. Thirteen demands have been addressed to the steel plant's management and city authorities. According to our correspondent Jerzy Alukiewicz, these mainly concern food supplies and social and living conditions at the steel plant.

NEWLY FORMED FINANCE MINISTRY COUNCIL MEETS

LD222148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The Ministry of Finance reports that the inaugural meeting of the newly formed Scientific Council at the Ministry of Finance took place today. The council aims to help solve the financial problems of the economy and to define the strategy of state financial policy. The council is composed of professors, eminent specialist in the financial and economic fields and in economic practice. Former finance ministers have been invited to participate in the council's work. At the first meeting there was discussion of the assumptions [words indistinct] on budget law and the bill on the principles of enterprise taxation.

JARUZELSKI MEETS ACADEMY OF SCIENCES PRESIDENT

LD221730 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] First secretary of the party Central Committee, premier, and Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski today met the president of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Prof Aleksander Geysztor. Problems specific to the extremely difficult current situation were discussed. It was stressed that of particular importance in overcoming the crisis is forming a broad platform of national accord which would agree with the renewal movement on the precepts of the political system in the Polish People's Republic. The role of the Polish intelligentsia in the accord and particularly of the country's scientific circles was also discussed.

SEJM COMMISSION DISCUSSES MARKET SUPPLIES

LD230208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Summary] The Sejm Commission for Domestic Trade, Small-Scale Production and Services at a meeting held yesterday examined the situation of supplies to the market in Gdansk, Katowice, Wroclaw and Zielona Gora Voivodships. It was established that in all those regions the situation is getting worse as regards the supply of foodstuffs containing protein. Criticism was leveled at the organization of distribution. It was said that one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory situation is the lack of economic incentive to agricultural producers. The economic system was frequently incapable of coping with a rationing method of distribution.

WOZNIAK ADDRESSES LEGNICA MINERS ON STRIKES, COAL

LD230200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] On the premises of the mining and foundry copper combine in Lubin in Legnica Voivodship, a meeting of the local sociopolitical aktiv took place with the participation of Secretary of the party Central Committee Marian Wozniak, and Minister of Mining and Machine Industry Zbigniew Szalajda. Representatives of factories, foundries and mines of the region concentrated their attention on the possibilities of increasing the intensive action of the party and people's authorities. It was stressed that the strike psychosis has to be effectively countered. The action of the administration was critically assessed. Discussing the issue connected with the restoration of the health of the economy of the country, Marian Wozniak drew attention to the necessity for a growth in the extraction of coal. What is necessary is a realistic more sensible treatment in mining of the sensitive theme of work on free Saturdays.

SEJM COMMITTEE DISCUSSES DRUG ADDICTION

LD222126 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Oct (PAP) -- The report presented today of Sejm deputies working in the Committee on Health estimates the number of Poles addicted to drugs in [words indistinct] at some 120,000 people.

The deputies voiced concern over the growth of drug addiction and its consequences. Most of the patients hospitalized for drug addiction are young or middle-aged, one in five is neither employed nor at school and is provided for by the family or the society.

The special young people's movement "Monar" plays an important role in fighting drug addiction. Its work proves that there is a chance for drug addicts to quit drugs and return to normal life in the society.

The deputies suggested that stricter measures be taken in dealing with producers and traffickers of drugs. They also spoke about the need to allocate more space to "Monar"-sponsored drug addiction treatment centre at Glaskow near Warsaw. Because of cramped quarters the centre has to refuse admission to many addicts applying for treatment. The whole process, including adaptation to social life, lasts an average of 3 years.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OFFICERS INTERVIEWED

PM221359 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Oct 81 p 6

[Sylwester Wlodkowica undated Warsaw interveiw with three Polish counterintelligence officers: "Against Treason"]

[Text] Three counterintelligence officers -- Col Marian Wieczorek, Maj Stanislaw Nowakowski and Capt Jaroslaw Pogoda -- were present in the office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' press spokesman. All three were university graduates. The eldest -- Colonal Wieczorek -- has worked in the German section of counterintelligence for 40 years. He started his work in the underground movement dealing with the Gestapo agents' network. After the war he fought against the reactionary underground and helped to liquidate espionage networks organized by NATO countries. My other two interlocutors were young people. They said that they had decided on this kind of work because they were personally interested in this difficult and responsible profession and because they wanted to lead a life of dangerous adventure and serve the community.

I was allowed to put to them any question I liked. To begin with, therefore, I asked them about the reasons for the existence of counterintelligence in view of the present level of scientific and technological development.

Here is a quotation: "In an era of a nuclear machine which can be unleashed by pressing a button, intelligence plays a more important role than front line armies. It is possible to win a war with the socialist countries through intelligence and subversion without either declaring war or engaging in military operations." This quotation comes from a statement by a U.S. strategist. We are now witnessing an intensification of the arms race and open attempts to achieve superiority over the USSR and dominate the world. Attempts at interference in the domestic affairs of socialist states and of countries which will not yield to the Western powers' diktat are being intensified.

These designs have forced the NATO powers to considerably develop and improve the intelligence and subversion apparatus aimed especially at Poland's territory, which, according to NATO plans, is to become the main theater of any future military operations. U.S. and FRG military, political and economic intelligence has now reached monstrous dimensions. Its agencies are equipped with the most modern materiel and installations and have highly specialized cadres and enormous funds at their disposal.

[Question] What specific role does counterintelligence play in the defense of our country?

[Answer] Counterintelligence protects the country and its peaceful development in various ways. Its main task is to identify the adversary, watch his activities, prevent their negative consequences and protect citizens from recruitment as collaborators. Any collaboration of this kind usually ends tragically. The main point is not even that during the past 9 years the counterinetlligence service has unmasked and military courts have sentenced 166 agents of hostile intelligence services. In any case, this is not a high figure. What is important, however, is that many of them have been prevented from intensifying their activities and that it has been possible to save many citizens from treason and from being drawn into cooperation in the sphere of espionage.

[Question] Counterintelligence has decided only recently to disclose its secrets. Why was its work not made known to the public any earlier?

[Answer] Socialist counterintelligence wants to see the community well informed about its daily work and its successes. It is a question not of self-publicity but of making known our adversaries, their intentions, and methods, and the objectives which they have in mind and which they accomplish. In fact, during a talk with some journalists, Brig Gen Wladyslaw Pozoga, who supervises counterintelligence's work, recently stated: "I assume that familiarizing the public with some methods of the activities in which NATO special services have been engaged can be of considerable prophylactic value. A more general realization among the public of both the methods used by these services in their activities and the spheres in which they are interested will make it even more difficult for them to recruit informants."

[Question] But why did you not seek to inform the public about these dangers during the past decade?

[Answer] Conditions connected with the assumptions of the "success propaganda," the thesis of the nation's moral and political unity and also the attitude of many decision making people who had neither "clean hands" nor a clear conscience contributed to this situation. How could those people allow any publicity about those who watched their activities?

[Question] We are interested in the question of espionage activities by high officials in the government and central offices. There have been rumors that before August 1980 counterintelligence was unable to deal with a number of matters and that some of these matters were hushed up because of connections between the people accused and the then decisionmakers.

[Answer] A modern agent greatly differs from the primitive, ready for anything spies who were sent here wholesale in the fifties. To begin with, he is a person able to go abroad legally, is educated to at least high school standard, holds a high official position, enjoys a high standard of living and is able to engage in legal activities. Before they recruit him, foreign intelligence services will have acquired detailed knowledge of his activities. Recruitment generally takes place abroad, where an agent is paid and where he reports on the fulfillment of his tasks. A "clean" person, above suspicion, with access to interesting materials and a broad sphere of activity and observation is the model of an ideal agent from the viewpoint of Western subversion centers. People who may be able to influence decisions in a direction advantageous to the enemy are also frequently recruited. People working in the sphere of foreign trade and diplomacy fulfill these conditions. It is in those circles that counter-intelligence has to intervene most often.

Intelligence services corrupt those people and make them dependent on them by using a so-called step-by-step method. It all begins with small-scale bribery and ends with large-scale treason. During the past decade many such two-faced people were unmasked and many have been found guilty of espionage. All matters dealt with by the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office and military courts have consistently been brought to conclusion.

It should be emphasized at this point that no guilty persons have escaped the punishment they deserved even when, as sometimes happened, they were on good terms with people holding high positions in the previous governing team. For instance, what led to the Kazimierz Tyranski affair was the fact that in 1978 the Warsaw Military District Court brought in a verdict of guilty against a CIA and Federal Intelligence Service [BND] agent, a foreign businessman who was a close friend of several ministers as well as of heads of some important central and regional organizations. Following his arrest in 1977 an investigation was initiated, as a result of which a dozen or so directors and managers at head offices involved with foreign trade and industry were found guilty of accepting material advantages in return for support given for the interests of foreign firms, of betrayal of state secrets and of financial crimes. A dozen or so people were then dismissed from their posts. Counterintelligence did not wait passively for the August renewal. Throughout the past 10 years it has fulfilled its duties.

[Question] Gentlemen, you have mentioned cases where secret state informtion was handed over to the West. What have been the social dimensions of this phenomenon?

[Answer] During 1980 recruitment of our citizens for espionage activities increased 40 percent. Efforts to use Polish nationals residing abroad for gathering all kinds of information have increased considerably. Intelligence activities carried out by "tourists" from capitalist countries have increased 30 percent. The increase in the number of visits by agents of special services and subversion centers recruited among students of politics, scientists and journalists is becoming a serious danger. The number of these visits has recently increased at least threefold. The activation of intelligence centers has assumed a new quality. Increasingly close cooperation between hostile agencies and internal antisocialist forces has been taking place. These forces have been supported by means of invitations extended to their representatives to visit foreign countries, by financing such visits, by giving expensive gifts and subsidies and by sending trained emissaries to our country.

[Question] How important is the connection between these activities and the socio-economic crisis which our country is now experiencing?

[Answer] There is a connection between intelligence activities and the material and technical assistance provided and the training given abroad, whose scale has already made it possible to put forward a thesis about ring-like connections between extremists from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and, to some extent, NSZZ Solidarity on the one hand and the NATO countries' anticommunist special services on the other hand. For no one will believe that mere contributions by the working class in the West are sufficient to pay for the technical equipment dispatched to our country, whose value amounts to millions of dollars.

Leaflet and propaganda action has been based on imported technical material and has largely been inspired by propaganda and subversion centers. An extreme example of activities of this kind has been the dissemination by DOLNO-SLASKI BIULETYN of leaflets from a counterrevolutionary organization, the People's Labor Alliance [NTS], whose membership now mainly consists of former Vlasov followers, Hitler's most bloodthirsty allies.

Western centers are now effectively taking advantage of a situation where social discipline is being weakened and where the number of both criminal and economic offenses has been increasing. Frequent contacts between diplomats from Western countries and representatives of opposition groups and Solidarity have also facilitated intelligence activities.

[Question] Has the security service intervened in these matters?

[Answer] No. It seems that no one has accused us of this. Counterintelligence has merely been watching attempts by foreign special services to influence some trade union organizations and activists, since it is counterintelligence's task to protect all the citizens of our country from any negative consequences of contacts with intelligence agents.

Such contacts can most easily be established by journalists from Western countries who, on the pretext of being interested in matters concerning work forces, gather valuable information for intelligence purposes. During this year alone more than 100 so-called representatives of the press who were in fact trained foreign agents and arrived in Poland as guests of some Solidarity organizations and activists, have been expelled. For instance, three journalists who were invited to the first round of the Solidarity congress were more interested in taking pictures of industrial and military installations along the coast than in reporting on the conference. Obviously they were expelled from the country.

[Question] We have been observing the phenomenon of mass departures of young people abroad. How does this look from your viewpoint?

[Answer] Our counterintelligence has long noticed the dangers ensuing from this. Illegal emigration provides foreign intelligence services with a twofold opportunity -- obtaining interesting informtion and recruiting new agents. The mechanism of such an action is simple. People arriving from Poland cannot find work and want to earn money by hook or by crook. They are employed illegally and, as a result, find themselves in a dependent position. consequently, they can be blackmailed and forced to give information. Or they can be induced to cooperate for money. Many young people are thus drawn unawares into the sphere of intelligence activities and after they return home the intelligence services concerned will not let their quarry go. Realizing the complexity of these phenomena, we try to approach every case individually. However, no one can either expect leniency or escape punishment.

All people leaving the country must realize a simple fact -- in the event of efforts being made to recruit them they can ask for assistance and protection at our diplomatic and consular agencies.

In many cases, people have embarked on the path of treason in connection with some offense on their part in a foreign country. Also in such cases Polish agencies offer far-reaching legal aid. This does not mean, however, that they will give financial assistance to anyone in trouble in a foreign country.

[Question] Has the present social situation affected the effectiveness of your work?

[Answer] A continually worsening state of order and security in the country, deepening anarchy and an atmosphere of lawlessness do not help counterintelligence in its work. Widespread unconcerned or even open hostility of the part of the community toward the law and the security services have become noticeable. This is not conducive to the effectiveness of the fight against foreign agents.

Lack of active cooperation by the community has forced counterintelligence officers to intensify their efforts, analyze many phenomena in depth and concentrate their energies on most important matters. Taking various events in our history as examples, it should be said that a close relationship between our service and the community has always been a prerequisite for the effectiveness of its activities.

[Question] Can it be said, therefore, that the detection rate of offenses of an espionage nature has fallen?

[Answer] These matters are not measurable, because an agent may sometimes be unmasked only many years after he was recruited or engaged in his activities. However, no person engaged in espionage activities in our country will avoid justice. We will soon bring to the public opinion's notice yet another dangerous agent of hostile intelligence who will soon be tried by a military court.

U.S. FOOD SUPPLIES ARRIVE AT GDANSK PORT

LD222212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a container vessel belonging to Polish Ocean Lines [POL] docked today at the Gdynia port container terminal, carrying 422 containers from the United States filled mainly with food. Among the cargo is 2,565 tons of powdered milk, of which more than 580 tons is a gift to the charity commission of the Episcopate of Poland. A consignment of 664 tons of turkeys, transported in 40 refrigerated containers, is also destined for this commission. In addition, the POL liner brought 113 tons of vitamin-enriched childrens' foods for the Ministry of Health.

SOVIET DELIVERY OF RAW MATERIALS, MACHINERY DUE

LD222142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Zurawica-Medyko-Werchrata, the largest inland port in Poland, today expects the 10 millionth ton of raw materials and goods to arrive this year from the Soviet Union by rail. Almost 7 million tons of iron ore, more than 1 million tons of open-hearth pig iron and (?59,000) tons of petroleum products, mainly gasoline, have arrived via this port. Soviet consignments also contained agricultural machinery and equipment and spares.

CZYREK RECOUNTS VISITS TO VATICAN, ITALY, BRAZIL

LD222332 Warsaw in English to Europe 2300 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] In a television interview Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek has spoken of the results of his recent foreign journey, including visits to the Vatican, Rome and Brazil. He described his talks with Pope John-Paul II as extremely useful and said they covered matters concerning the future peaceful development of the world, detente and disarmament, and also bilateral relations. Both sides positively appraised the state of relations between Poland and the Vatican.

Referring to the talks in Rome, Minister Czyrek mentioned the position adopted by the Italian Government on credit facilities for exports to Poland, which he described as almost unprecedented. This applies to the decision to grant credits covering 100 percent of the Italian deliveries of raw materials and semimanufactures for easing the situation on the consumer market in Poland.

BRIEFS

CSSR GOODS AT SZCZECIN -- The participation of CSSR goods in transit in the general turnover of the Szczecin-Swinoujzcie port complex grows. An increasing number of goods imported or exported by Czechoslovakia by sea are being transloaded at port berths. The plan for this year envisages the transloading of 1.6 million tons of various goods, and it is known already that this will be exceeded. There is every indication that this tendency will continue. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 12 Oct 81 LD]

TYPHOID CASES -- Cases of typhoid fever occur above all in the Gdansk district of Stogi. This is the result of the catastrophic state of sanitation in the district. Until recently liquid sewage was dispersed onto irrigation fields with an area of 400 hectares. This area, as a result of building the northern port, has diminished by one half, while the sewage increased, in connection with the growth of the population. The irrigation fields [pola irygacyjne] have also been severely damaged by people searching for amber. The issue of refuse removal is no better. There are allotments from which produce is also sold. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Oct 81 LD]

GREETINGS TO JARUZELSKI, POLISH EVENTS REPORTED

Ceausescu Greets Jaruzelski

AU221303 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 20 Oct 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski, on your election as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, I want to extend warmest congratulations on behalf of the RCP Central Committee and myself, together with wishes for great success in fulfilling the highly responsible tasks entrusted to you.

On this occasion, too, I want to express the firm conviction that the traditional relations of friendship established between our parties and countries will continue to develop at various levels to the benefit and in the interest of the Romanian and Polish peoples and the cause of peace, security and national independence and of international cooperation and collaboration.

I want to extend to you, the Polish communists, the workers class and to all friendly Polish people the fervent wish to overcome in close and complete unity the current situation and to ensure Poland's firm progress on the road to socialism and the fatherland's independence and sovereignty in keeping with the supreme interests of the Polish working people and the cause of socialism and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

PZPR Plenum

AU221025 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 20 October carries on page 6 a 300-word curriculum vitae and picture of new PZPR Secretary General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

On the same page, SCINTEIA carries a 900-word report, citing PAP, on the "Decision-Program Adopted by the Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee." The points mentioned in the report deal with the party bodies' obligation "to counteract any activities by counter-revolutionary forces, directed in particular against the country's defense capabilities, its international alliances and against the Polish People's Army, and to unmask antisocialist forces, their programs and methods of action, and their links to international centers of ideological antisocialist struggle."

The report adds that in view of the existing threat to state security, "the Central Committee considers that, should it become necessary, the Polish leadership should wield its constitutional rights to defend the vital interests of the people and state." The Central Committee requested "Solidarity" to respect the constitution, to refrain from strikes, to help the government overcome the crisis, and to recognize in practice the country's alliance with the socialist countries. The Central Committee further urged all possible efforts to more efficiently implement the government's economic program, and urged the Sejm to temporarily suspend the right to strike.

Poland's Economic Efforts

AU151021 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 13 October carries on page 3 a 1,000-word item entitled "travel notes" by Adrian Vasilescu entitled: "Workers' Thoughts, Concerns and Efforts." The author begins with a description of cultural life in Warsaw: museums, exhibitions, shows. However, after enjoying such recreation, "People return to their daily concerns, the most important of which are economic activities. Great efforts are being made at all society levels to better organize work, to make it more disciplined and productive." The author adds that "Currently in Poland, economic reform is of equal concern to workers, peasants, intellectuals, enterprise directors and experts, and to those given the great responsibility of leading the PZPR and the government."

The author then describes his visits to Kielce, a workers' center, and at the Warsaw enterprise "Cora," and his discussions with workers. His conclusion is that "The workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people of Poland for the most part understand that now, under the current conditions, self-responsibility, work and discipline are the only way to economic recovery."

Together with a Warsaw engineer, the author viewed an archive movie about Warsaw in World War II. The engineer commented on the film as such: "We are now in a difficult situation. We do not know if we will manage to solve our problems by winter. However, one important thing has been achieved: People know where and how they have gone wrong, and want to redress their mistakes. This is the very essence of our economic reform. It will not be easy. But just as we rebuilt Warsaw from the ashes, we will rebuild the country's economy."

No political issues are mentioned in the article.

GREECE'S PAPANDREOU RECEIVES ROMANIAN ENVOY

AU222100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Athens, 22 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Messages of friendship were exchanged in Athens between Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), when the Hellenic premier received Romania's ambassador in Athens, Ion Brad.

On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Greek premier was conveyed sincere congratulations on his having won the October 18 election and been appointed to the office of prime minister.

Andreas Papandreou stressed that he considered President Ceausescu not only Romania's great leader, a prominent politician of the Balkans and Europe but also an outstanding personality of the world. Likewise he assured Romania's president that he would do his utmost for further developing the relations of friendship between the two countries, for peace and security in our region, in Europe and worldwide, expressing his wish to continue the fruitful dialogue they started in Bucharest this year.

PRESIDENT RECEIVES PRC OFFICIAL ZHOU PEIYUAN

AU222030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On Thursday, October 22, Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], received the delegation of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic of China, led by Acad. Zhou Peiyuan, vice-chairman of that body's National Committee, paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the SDUF National Council.

The interview occasioned an exchange of greetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang, chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman of the CC of the CCP, chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Satisfaction was expressed during the interview at the relations of close friendship and solidarity, of productive collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, between the peoples of the two countries, relations that have steadily expanded and enriched. Likewise, both sides' wish was expressed to develop and strengthen those good relations on a political and economic plane, in science, culture and other fields of activity.

In that context the importance was stressed of intensifying contacts, the links of collaboration between the political, mass and public organizations of the two countries with a view to enhancing their contribution to expanding the Romanian-Chinese manysided cooperation. The conviction was asserted that the broad promotion of bilateral collaboration was for the benefit of both countries and peoples, in the interests of socialist construction in Romania and in the People's Republic of China, of the general cause of socialism, of peace and mankind's progress.

Opinions were also exchanged on the evolution of the world political life. It was noted that under the current international circumstances the people's struggle should be intensified for achieving disarmament, the essential question of our days, for solving the states of conflict and tension by political, negotiated means, for establishing a new economic order, attaining the aspiration after freedom, independence and welfare of all nations. The need was stressed for the achievements of science to be put in the service of peace, of mankind's progress. The confidence was expressed that the Romanian and Chinese men of science would make an active contribution to the peace and prosperity of the present-day world.

The interview passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

PUNGAN RECEIVED BY KUWAITI AMIR 21 OCT

AU212058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] Kuwait, 21 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Messages of friendship were exchanged in Kuwait on Wednesday between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and his highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on the Kuwaiti head of state by Vasile Pungan, adviser to Romania's president, minister secretary of state.

Evoking with particular pleasure his visit to Romania and the talks he had with Romania's president, the amir of the state of Kuwait pointed to the broad possibilities opened to the productive collaboration, on a bilateral and international plane, by the summit dialogue recently held in Bucharest.

During the talk modalities were approached as well as measures to be undertaken by the two sides with a view to translating into fact the collaboration understandings covenanted during the visit the amir of the state of Kuwait paid to Romania.

The talks passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere, characteristic of the relations between the two countries.

During his visit to Kuwait, Vasile Pungan had interviews and talks with Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah as-Sabah, minister of oil, 'Abd al-Latif al-Hamad, minister of finance and planning, Jasim Khalid al-Marzuq, minister of trade and industry, 'Abdallah Dukhayl ar-Rushayd, minister of public works, Dr 'Abd ar-Rahman 'Abdallah al-'Awadi, minister of health, as well as with executives of the Kuwaiti Fund for Development and of the Kuwaiti National Company for Investments.

During the interviews, which were attended by Ion Stanciu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international cooperation, Cornel Iuga, deputy minister of finance, and Nicolae Eremia, chairman of the administration board of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, just as executives of Kuwaiti ministers and institutions, concrete questions were analysed relating to the intensification and diversification of the relations of cooperation between the two countries in industry, agriculture, construction, infrastructure, health protection, finance, banking and investments, on third markets included, in keeping with the programme covenanted and the recommendations given by the two heads of state.

DINCA, IRAQI OFFICIALS DISCUSS COOPERATION

AU221021 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0730 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, and Hashim Aqrawi, minister of state in the Government of the Republic of Iraq, now in Romania for [The international fair] TIB'81, expressed satisfaction during an interview at the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between the two countries and pointed to the decisive role of the understanding convenanted during the top-level meetings and talks in deepening and diversifying those relations in the interests of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace in the world. Questions were also approached regarding the possibilities of expanding the Romanian-Iraqi cooperation and reciprocal commercial exchanges.

SPANISH SOCIALIST LEADER RECEIVES STOIAN

AU222027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Madrid, 22 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Felipe Gonzales, secretary general of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), received Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Constanta County Party Committee, who represents the Romanian Communist Party to the proceedings of the 29th PSOE Congress.

Messages were exchanged on the occasion between RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and Felipe Gonzales.

Both sides' wish was expressed to further expand the relations and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party in the interests of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and international understanding.

SCINTEIA MARKS TRADE UNIONS' ANNIVERSARY

AU221346 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1220 GMT 22 Oct 81

["60 Years Since the General Congress of the Romanian Trade Unions" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 22 Oct (AGERPRES) -- These days the Romanian press is marking the celebration of six decades since the General Congress of the Romanian Trade Unions that was held over October 20-23, 1921, in Brasov.

Bringing together in congress for the first time trade union delegations from all the regions of Romania, debating major problems of the trade union activity under the historical conditions created by the achievement of the national unitary state, in 1981, the Brasov forum of the workers laid the foundations of the unity of the trade union movement in our country.

Showing the working class movement in Romania to have had strong traditions of revolutionary organization at the time of the Brasov congress, SCINTEIA of October 23 reads: The Brasov General Congress of the Trade Unions was called only five months after the foundation of the Romanian Communist Party. The May 1921 decisions of the Great Communist Forum were to give a strong impetus to the centralization of the trade union organizations. The congress, the newspaper stresses, sanctioned in the statute the fundamental principles of the trade union activity: the class struggle, the international working-class solidarity, and the abolition of any form of labour exploitation -- guiding principles attesting to the revolutionary character of the Romanian trade union movement. Expressing the Romanian working class' will of union, the congress endorsed the statute of the trade union movement and elected a leading body -- the General Commission of the Romanian Trade Unions, headquartered in the capital city, and also established a tactical line common to all the trade union organizations.

Following the decisions adopted by the congress, the trade union movement developed on an ascending line. The next year, in the summer, the Sibiu Congress (June 1922), set out from the foundations laid in Brasov and perfected the unification of all trade union in Romania.

In spite of the disunity occurred in the working class movement in the ensuing period, "SCINTEIA" goes on, the aspiration after unity, the collaboration among the communist, socialist, social-democratic workers were present and the results were remarkable in the struggle for economic emancipation and for unmasking and fighting the fascist organizations, the danger of revisionism, for defending the national independence and the country's integrity. This tendency became material in the great battles fought in a single front during the years of the economic crisis, in the restoration of the trade union unity (1935-1936), in the united participation in the February 1936 elections, in the organization and unfolding of great antifascist and antiwar demonstrations such as the one of May 1, 1939.

Highly important for the unity of the trade unions was the April 1944 foundation of the single workers' front, under the difficult conditions of the military-fascist dictatorship and of the Hitlerite war, as a consequence of the agreement between the Romanian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, stresses SCINTEIA. The single workers' front proved to be a nucleus apt to gather all the democratic and patriotic forces that carried out the August 23 antifascist and antiimperialist revolution of national and social liberation. The unity of the working class in trade unions, sanctioned by the January 1945 General Congress of the Trade Unions, was then an important factor in the struggle for gaining the political power and for a successful unfolding of the entire revolutionary process in Romania.

In conclusion "SCINTEIA" reads: 60 years after the Brasov congress, the trade unions are in Romania not only the largest civic organization of the working people, including over seven million members, but also one of the most important levers by means of which the working class, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, exert their role as a leading force of the Romanian society. The trade unions are invested with wide prerogatives and obligations in the management of all the fields of the economic and social life, in the implementation of the working-class democracy, in materializing the economic units' self-management and self-administration in organizing the socialist emulation. They ensure the active presence and the wide participation of the working people in the debate and working out of all the measures regarding the implementation of the economic tasks, the husbanding of the national wealth, watch the application of the law, of the principles of socialist remuneration and of the labour safety norms, contribute to the organization of the leisure and recreation of the working people, to the improvement of their political, ideological and professional training.

BRIEFS

SUDANESE PEACE DELEGATION -- Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- A delegation of the National Council for Friendship, Solidarity and Peace of Sudan, made up of (Abdel Gadir Abbas), member of the CC of the Sudanese Socialist Union [SSU], secretary of the National Council for Friendship, Solidarity and Peace, head of the delegation, and (Awad Gazaly), member of the CC of the Union of Sudanese Youth, member of the Committee of the National Council for Friendship, Solidarity and Peace, paid a visit to Romania over September 29 - October 6 at the invitation of the National Peace Committee. During their Romanian sojourn the delegation had interviews at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Peace Committee, the National Centre for the Promotion of Friendship and Cooperation with Other Peoples, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, the Romanian League of Friendship with Peoples of Asia and Africa. [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 6 Oct 81 AU]

KRAIGHER ACTIVITIES AT CANCUN SUMMIT REPORTED

22 October Speech

LD222126 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Speech by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, at the Cancun summit conference in Mexico on 22 October]

[Text] Cancun, 22 Oct (TANJUG) -- Mr Chairman, we have been brought to this important gathering by our common concern for the future of mankind. I believe that we have found ourselves here in the desire to exert all our energies so as to confront in a positive manner the challenge from the economic situation in the world and thus start a new stage of international cooperation. I think that we shall succeed in this if we depart from here primarily with a clear message to the world that armed with a common political will we shall do all that needs to be done to make possible the opening of global talks in the United Nations.

I should like to pay tribute here to the president of Mexico, His Excellency Jose Lopez Portillo, and the chancellor of Austria, His Excellency Mr Bruno Kreisky, for their efforts to make our meeting possible.

At the same time, I should like to express my gratitude to the people and Government of Mexico for the warm hospitality and attention with which we have been surrounded from the moment we stepped on the soil of friendly Mexico.

I take this opportunity to express my wishes for the speedy recovery of President Figueiredo, Chancellor Kreisky and Chancellor Schmidt, who are regrettably not here with us for reasons of health.

Mr Chairman, no one among us has been spared the difficult problems which are shaking the world, ranging from unemployment and inflation, balance of payments deficits and monetary instability to the slowing down or even halting of economic development.

This is obviously due to deeper, structural disruptions of a global nature, whose solution calls for common action with the participation of all countries. In this connection, allow me to express regret at the fact that the developed socialist countries of Europe are not present here together with us.

The problems which confront us have really manifested themselves in their most dramatic form in the weakest part of the world economy's chain -- in the developing countries. This regrettably came about just when some of them had succeeded, thanks primarily to their own efforts, in achieving a relatively dynamic rate of economic development.

Statistics recently published by the IMF and the World Bank are an eloquent confirmation of this. I shall mention some of them.

The deficit of the developing countries which are not oil exporters reached $82 billion in 1980, which means that it doubled as compared with 1978. This year this deficit will reach the figure of $100 billion. Only one quarter of this deficit has been covered with public international aid, while new commercial loans have to be raised to cover the remainder.

This makes the position of these countries more and more difficult, as new foreign loans are mainly used to repay debts and only one fifth is left to finance development. Every increase in the rate of interest by 1 percent leads to a fresh flow of capital out of these countries at the rate of nearly $2 billion per year.

At the end of last year the indebtedness of these countries amounted to about $400 billion, which is twice as much as the total value of their export.

This leads to a halt in economic development, decline of credit capability and thus also to the danger of a moratorium on repayments. I need not stress in any special way what this would mean for the whole financial structure. This structure is burdened anyway by deep chronic disruptions, which have not spared even the developed countries.

All this speaks in favor of the arguments advocating the establishment of international monetary cooperation on new principles. The changes in the international monetary and financial system can yield the desired results only if they are related to economic development.

In a world in which national economies are intensively interlinked, the problems we are talking about are most closely linked.

It is beyond dispute that the energy problem is today a general problem of world development, both for developed countries and for developing countries. It therefore calls for a complex discussion together with other global issues of world development. It is generally accepted that the chief problem does not lie in the price of oil, though its significance should not be underestimated.

For developing countries -- oil importers -- the energy problem is above all a question of their industrialization and economic development. Already at present, 22 percent of their payments on imports are spent on imports of energy. In the estimates of the World Bank, the development of energy sources in these countries will call in the near future for $80 to 100 billion on investments. Should these countries not be able to finance imports of energy today and investments in energy production tomorrow, their economic growth will inevitably be halted.

Under the conditions of the world market, the stability of the world economy cannot be based on a lasting division of the world into industrially developed and underdeveloped countries. The industrial development of developing countries is an essential element of the general economic stability. This, of course, implies the solution not only of energy but of the whole socioeconomic development. In this, I would attack particular significance to reliance on one's own forces, to the system of international, above all, public financing and to transfer of technology.

I cannot see that we shall be able to find a way out of the present structural crisis of the world economy without a bold examination of the complex nature of this question.

One of the most tragic contradictions of the present-day is certainly the problem of hunger and food. It has, unfortunately, been established that the goals which should have been implemented in this field by the end of the present decade can be achieved only at the end of the present century. Numerous aspects of this grave heritage -- humanitarian, economical and security aspects -- make the elimination of this problem as complex as it is urgent.

We cannot ensure the conditions of human dignity if we do not resolve this problem by joint efforts. And we cannot solve it only by increased production in the developed world and by massive transfers of food to developing countries.

The development of agriculture is, above all, a question of making the complex socioeconomic development possible. The people of the world must be given the opportunity to produce by themselves the food for their existence. This calls both for the assistance and support -- financial, economic and technical -- of the international community. This is undoubtedly along with the problem of industrialization and technology transfer, the most significant problem of a healthy development of developing countries.

Let us take the problem of trade both in general and in connection with the achievement of industrialization of developing countries.

It is a paradox that developing countries meet with a closed market in industrial countries for goods which they produce with machines imported from those countries. This is a consequence of protectionism, with which the industrially developed world is increasingly surrounding itself. However, protectionism is a two-edged sword. Seen from a long-term point of view, it also affects those who use it.

It is necessary that we change such a practice in time and stop these dangerous trends. Developing countries are justifiably demanding an equitable place in international trade.

At a time when world exports have reached the value of about one-fifth of the whole world production, none of us can any longer resolve his internal economic problems by neglecting general trends and the interests of all other partners in the world economy.

We believe that in our growingly interdependent world successful and equitable cooperation can take place only among independent and sovereign countries. This is the goal to which we must aspire and seek, in line with it, solutions for outstanding issues.

Therefore, the responsibility of those who have greater economic strength is also all the greater. However, this does not mean that exclusiveness in decision-making on issues which concern everybody should also be theirs.

The global nature of the basic problems which we face and their interdependance also point to the ways of resolving them. Problems can no longer be resolved individually and in an isolated manner. The frameworks of the systems and institutions which we created after the war are evidently too narrow today. The agricultural, raw material and energy problems of the world cannot be resolved separately from trade and development.

Developing countries, in particular the least developed among them, are in a difficult economic situation. Developed countries cannot get out of the vicious circle of slow growth, protectionism, fall in productivity, inflation and increase in unemployment.

Both can find a way out of such a situation only by injecting dynamism into healthy economic development. This goal, however, cannot be achieved by unilateral measures, but only by reliance on private capital or within closed economic groupings.

The fundamental aim of our gathering -- the way we see it -- lies precisely in our expressing political will and achieving agreement on the need to start the process of global negotiations aimed at resolving joint problems.

Two years after the UN General Assembly adopted the decision on global negotiations, we have not managed to agree on the start of these negotiations. These years have been lost. And this has of necessity exerted an influence on a further worsening of the world economic situation. The international public is rightly concerned.

The differences in attitudes are known. Nevertheless, our conviction is that, with joint readiness, we can find a way to overcome lack of trust and disagreements. All the more so, since the global concept of negotiations stems from the fact that outstanding problems are mutually dependent on each other and linked with one another.

The negotiations will undoubtedly be long and complex. In this respect the institutions within the system of the United Nations should assume the necessary responsibility, the same as the central body, and all the countries should be represented and should have a clear place in the performance of its important role in the negotiations. This is the basis on which the General Assembly could pass a decision on the beginning of global negotiations.

We continue to be convinced that the concept of global negotiations as accepted by the UN General Assembly is a valid one and should lead us to a new international economic order.

Its essence, in our view, is to ensure independence, equality and equal rights and create the kind of conditions for the development of underdeveloped countries which will enable them to take part, as an equal factor, in the settling of common international economic problems and involve themselves in the realization of the general common interests of developed and developing countries.

The problems about which we are speaking are naturally not only economic in character. Everything that is economic is at the same time also political. North-South problems cannot be reduced to development alone, as East-West problems cannot be reduced to disarmament alone.

The problems of world peace and security are most closely linked with the problems of development, as they are also linked to the problems of disarmament.

The dynamic development of the developing world, combined with the individual and collective reliance on one's own resources and achieved through equitable and global cooperation, will create the conditions of stability and equilibrium, which will make possible, apart from economic development, progress toward disarmament and strengthen the foundations of world peace.

Only on this basis is it possible to consolidate the independence of nations, promote the dignity of man and broaden freedom.

As far as my country is concerned, I wish to stress that its approach to the vital questions of the present-day, as defined by me here, are inspired by the principles and goals of the policy of nonalignment, to which we shall continue to adhere.

Mr Chairman, in conclusion allow me to recall the words of President Tito, when he said here in Cancun during his visit in 1976 that "we must solve these problems in a way which will lead to the establishment of new international economic relations, in which all the countries will find their own place in keeping with their own interests and on the basis of equality."

Mr Chairman, thank you.

Talk With Reagan

LD221924 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Cancun, 22 Oct (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan met in Cancun this morning. During a friendly conversation they considered a number of fundamental questions of North-South relations and ways of making possible their positive settlement.

Sergej Kraigher and Ronald Reagan also discussed topical international questions, especially in connection with the situations in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

During the meeting stress was laid on the two countries' readiness to continue their successful bilateral cooperation which is based on well-established principles.

The meeting was attended by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Alexander Haig, secretary of state; Donald Regan, secretary of the treasury, and other personalities.

Gandhi, Nyerere, Genscher

LD221956 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Cancun, 22 Oct (TANJUG) -- The head of the Yugoslav delegation to the summit in Cancun, President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher, met here yesterday evening and in the afternoon with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere.

Kraigher also exchanged views with Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Substantive questions of North-South relations and the forthcoming work of the Cancun summit were discussed in these contacts.

Yesterday morning, Sergej Kraigher met with the host of the meeting, Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid and Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang.

An informal dinner given late last night for the heads of all participant countries of the international conference on cooperation and development, was also used for contacts and exchange of views.

GALEB RECEIVES PRC TRADE UNION DELEGATION

AU171755 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Yesterday, Rade Galeb, president of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, and Josip Franic, member of the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, received a delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by (Liu Shi), member of the secretariat of the federation. They informed the Chinese trade union officials on the role and tasks of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in further perfecting the political system of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, and the tasks of trade union organizations in economic stabilization. Certain current issues of the situation and relations in the international trade union movement were also discussed.

MIKULIC LEAVES FOR FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

LD221106 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0944 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Oct (TANJUG) -- Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Branko Mikulic left here today for France, to attend the national congress of the French Socialist Party.

The congress opens at Valence tomorrow.

BORBA ON EAST EUROPE COMMENTS ON SIHANOUK VISIT

AU211743 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 81 p 8

[M. Milivojevic commentary "Dialogue -- the Only Road"]

[Text] In the contemporary world so heavily burdened by troubles, cares and dangers for peace, any political dialogue should be welcomed. And if in such dialogues the individual hotbeds of crisis are openly and constructively discussed, then these contacts can be very desirable indeed, because in any event they provide a certain impluse to finding a just solution for the problem involved and in general contribute to better understanding and to creating a climate of trust in the world.

This approach to solving world problems represents the core of the Yugoslav nonaligned orientation, because confrontations, pressures, threats and sabre rattling not only do not lead to certain peace but instead further exacerbate the existing uncertain situation. Being firmly committed to the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and noninterference in internal affairs, Yugoslavia at the same time retains for itself the right to decide on its own with whom it will hold talks and whom it will invite for a visit. In the same way we have never engaged in providing certain characterizations of the guests of other countries nor have we ever devalued such contacts in any way.

Recently Prince Norodom Sihanouk visited our country. That Kampuchean patriot and tested friend of our country had expressed a wish to bow before the remains of President Tito and pay homage to his personal friend from as far back as the time of the birth of the nonaligned policy and movement, as well as to discuss the current international problems, including naturally the crisis in Southeast Asia, with the highest Yugoslav leaders.

Yugoslavia's views on the problem of Kampuchea are well known. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, opening constructive negotiations and insuring the right of the Kampuchean people to freely and independently decide their fate on their own, represent the only way to solve this crisis.

As great champion of world peace and symbol of the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their freedom as far back as during the time of the Lon Nol dictatorship, as a man who held unambiguous views in favor of the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, and as a very active politician in the Nonaligned Movement. Prince Sihanouk is a personage of such stature that a dialogue with him about world problems can always be useful, open and friendly.

Considering all that, the reaction of certain information media in the individual East European countries (as for instance Moscow PRAVDA or Prague RUDE PRAVO) whose characterizations of Sihanouk's visit to Yugoslavia are inappropriate, to say the least, is really astonishing.

For, if there are differences between Yugoslavia and these countries as regards individual international issues, something that objectively results from their different geopolitical positions, these differences should in no way be an obstacle to cooperation and, even less, a motive for accusations and insinuations.

KRAIGHER CONGRATULATES PDRY'S MUHAMMAD

AU211925 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 81 p 14

[Text] Belgrade -- On the occasion of the celebration of the revolution day of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, sent a telegram on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with cordial congratulations and wishes.

LCY PRESIDIUM VIEWS YOUTH, CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

LD142132 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG) -- LCY Central Committee Presidium held a session in Belgrade today. Discussing the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress, the Presidium found that they were, basically, proceeding as planned.

The Presidium considered a report on the realization of the conclusions of the 10th Session of the LCY Central Committee on the young generation in the struggle for the further development of socialist self-managing relations. The introductory report was submitted by Djuro Trbovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium found that certain results have been achieved in the realization of the conclusions, but that they are not in keeping with the possibilities provided by social conditions and the level reached in our general development. Noting that the Central Committee's conclusions and attitudes on the young are in many respects more topical today than when they were adopted. The Presidium pointed out that in the next period the organized socialist forces' activity aimed at their realization should be stepped up still further and be still more concrete.

Efforts should be made through consistent action to maintain the conditions needed for an even more active role of the young in our socialist self-managing society, a task to which the organizations and organs of the League of Communists should pay particular attention in the course of the preparations for the forthcoming conferences and congresses.

At the session the Presidium agreed on the concrete ways and manner of involving the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee in the realization of the attitudes of the 21st Session of the LCY Central Committee

SAWPY COMMITTEE DISCUSSES RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

AU211725 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 81 p 4

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- It is indispensable to distinguish religious and hostile activities, and the occurrences of clericalism in the activities of religious communities can only be combatted through organized action where they arise, in the field. In addition, it was pointed out at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference committee for the implementation of the SAWP role in religious questions and activities of religious communities that it is indispensable to determine which occurrences in society affect the manifestations of clericalism and in what way society resists its harmful activities.

On these questions, Kolj Siroka, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, said our position must be clear. Various forces wage a battle against our togetherness and we must resist them by joint action. Siroka then pointed out that many demands and occurrences must be examined and an unequivocal answer must be given to the question of whether the church is really separated form the state and whether its representatives may perform religious rites in the army and through public information media. We are obliged to examine whether a sectarian attitude is taken toward the believers when we deprive them of some responsible offices because they are believers. The strivings of some religious communities to negotiate with the state and thus develop a partnership must also be called by their proper name.

In conclusion, Kolj Siroka recommended that young people should also be included in these talks, for they are the prime target of the religious communities, whose aim is to win them over. It is not a misfortune that young people carry crosses, Siroka said, but that enemies may turn them against their own interests and the interests of their country.

In the view of the majority of those taking part in the discussion, not all the 40 religious communities at present active in our country can be subjected to criticism, and one should not be mistrustful of every one of the 20,000 religious officials and 100,000 members of various religious committees. One should, however, establish the proportions of the occurrences which are more and more manifest in our press, including religious magzaines, and one should carefully analyze the cause of these occurrences.

In concluding the discussion of these sensitive questions, for which it was said that they are still being ignored in some communities, the fact was stressed that these problems have been solved in principle in the best possible way, but the principles have not yet been fleshed out through self-managing norms. The basic political views are good, too, but the activities are not unified and broad, so that these problems do not feature sufficiently in the discussions of the SAWP and the youth.

ZAGREB CRITICIZES BISHOPS CONFERENCE STATEMENT

LD221826 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] The bishops of Yugoslavia published a statement after each of the last two sessions of the bishops' conference last spring and this autumn.

Apart from shades of meaning, both statements are in essence the same, the difference being that the autumn statement is more explicit and thereby also clearer, except for the introductory part of the statement, which says that every criticism of the statement by the bishops of Yugoslavia represents, to quote, an attempt to alienate believers from the church, which fills them with unease and anxiety. Here is a commentary by Josip Brubisic Caob:

One should speak about real things. One does not have to be particularly well informed to know that what the bishops said does not belong to this category, a fact of which the authors of the statement are better aware than the normally informed believer. We know that our assertion is a serious one, but we can freely state that the truth is diametrically opposed to their views. This is to say that it is the bishops of Yugoslavia who are trying to alienate believers from our sociopolitical system, from our society which we are building with so much effort and with the active participation of believers among our citizens, who are building a socialist, self-managing, nonaligned society of the community of Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Moreover, the statement in essence strikes against the SFRY Constitution by means of the salto mortale [as heard] technique -- that is, by invoking that same Constitution. The bishops of Yugoslavia continue to reserve for themselves the right to pronounce moral judgment on society. In this way they go further than partnership, which itself is not permissible, and are assuming the role of arbiter in society. The church and church dignitaries are not allowed to do this by any society, not even the Italian one, which is the most Catholic of all, and our own society cannot allow it either.

What we have here, in essence, is the opening of a political confrontation, which is accompanied by a monotonous, persistent and very unconvincing assertion that the church does not indulge in politics, which is asserted, most likely to convince the naive, as early as the first paragraph of the statement.

The second paragraph resorts to intolerance typical of militant Catholicism, whose tradition is very inglorious in these parts, in its attack on the Marxist scientific attitude in society, especially in schools, which in essence amounts to an open demand to the League of Communists to renounce its teaching and its social role, which, incidentally, is defined in the Constitution.

In this connection the statement, sounding both as a call to rebellion and as hypocritical shedding of crocodile tears, says that the principles of our society -- now it is no longer talking about individual acts -- let us quote, give rise among young believers to the feelings of anxiety, shame and lesser value because they practice religion and belong to the Catholic Church.

Did the authors of these words seriously consider what they were saying and where all this could lead? They are certain to have considered this and that is what makes it even worse.

In paragraph three they say: We consider that it is unconstitutional and runs counter to fundamental human rights when any journalist or public worker can, without objective reasons and evidence, attack church officials, and so on. Excuse me, we must tell them, this cannot be done in this society to anyone, religious official included. However, no one, religious officials included, is immune from social criticism. Or should they be immune, in the view of the authors of the statement? After all, religious officials should not forget that they are this country's citizens as regards both their rights and their duties.

When one analyzes this thing, this statement, one finds that its final part sounds very unconvincing. It says: We state that in accordance with the Gospel and the teaching of the church, we are deeply convinced that the fomenting of hatred is harmful and that dialogue should be based on the truth.

All that the church leadership imputes to our society is far from the truth. On the platform provided by this kind of statement by the bishops it is difficult to build anything at all and the question which poses itself is whether even dialogue can be maintained in the light of these and similar views of church dignitaries.

VIDIC WARNS OF HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AT UNIVERSITY

AU212022 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Oct 81

[Text] The general course of beginning to struggle faster for better quality and more productive work in society must be much more pronounced at the university, too. Raising the quality of teaching, improving the teaching plan and programs, harmonizing them with the needs of society and the economy, and increasing the efficiency of the studies are the true demands of the times in which we live. This is one of the most important points made at the expanded session of the city committee of the League of Communists organization in Belgrade today. The session examined current problems of sociopolitical and self-managing activities at Belgrade University, and the tasks of the League of Communists.

The conclusions adopted point out that a much stronger ideopolitical action of more than 30,000 communists at Belgrade University is needed, and that it should primarily be directed at the most essential questions of university reform.

Dobrivoje Vidic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, also took part in the work of the session. There are people who, as part of their broad plan to destabilize the country, wish to find strongholds at Belgrade University. These hostile activities must be constantly watched and must not be neglected as a tiny excess, for they constantly escalate if we are not vigilant. They begin in a small group of a dozen people, but an action to collect signatures may also expand and enemies may get together in collusion, Dobrivoje Vidic pointed out.

PRISTINA TV REBUFFS ALBANIAN 'PROPAGANDA'

AU211905 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Oct 81 p 2

[Pristina TV commentary: "Accusations in the Service of the Pragmatic Needs of the Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda in Albania"]

[Text] In last night's informative and political programs, Pristina TV broadcasted the following commentary:

In last evening's broadcast, Tirana TV extended its accusations against the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, accusations which are in the service of the pragmatic needs of the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in Albania and which, on this occasion are supposedly vested with historic "arguments."

First, in last night's broadcast the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is accused of supposedly waging a hostile anti-Albanian and anti-Marxist policy toward the national liberation movement in Albania; that is, accusing this time not only the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia -- as has been the case hitherto. And secondly, as regards the time-span, its accusations date even back to 1939, from the time when Italian Fascists occupied Albania.

Tirana TV is trying to convince public opinion in Albania and abroad that, from the very beginning of the collaboration between the two parties and peoples of the two countries, which was in their vital and mutual interests, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has supposedly pursued the intention of subjugating Albania. The major aims of Tirana's propaganda are to show that both before and presently the Communist Party of Yugoslavia supposedly did not have sincere positions toward the Albanian people and state.

At the same time, within the context of unbridled anti-Yugoslav propaganda, an attempt is being made to discredit the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and our social system in the eyes of the Albanian people, whose majority knows the truth. A simple examination of the anti-Yugoslav propaganda in Albania shows that the leading group in Albania has drawn its anti-Yugoslav accusations from the arsenal of the well-known accusations of the notorious Informburo against Yugoslavia in 1948, when Tito and Yugoslavia, as well as all the nations and peoples in it, defended their independence and their own road in the construction of socialism against Stalin's attacks with the aim of sugjugating Yugoslavia.

As far as the communist Party of Yugoslavia and its nations and peoples are concerned, we will point out only a few facts concerning their sincere intentions toward Albania:

1. When the Italian Fascists occupied Albania in 1939, the communists in Yugoslavia, Serbs, Montenegrins and Anganians, organized protests demonstrations and expressed the readiness of Yugoslav communists and patriots of all nations and peoples to rush to the aid of the Albanian people in defending their independence. Demonstrations were organized in Belgrade, Montenegro and Kosovo.

2. The Albanian Communist Party was formed 40 years ago. The current propaganda currently being oragnized in Albania totally denies the internationalist aid given by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in this respect, too.

It is well-known that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, respectively, the LCY, have not pretended and are not pretending that the Communist Party of Albania was formed by Yugoslav communists. However, beginning in 1948, through falsifications, distortions and speculative complications, Albanian propaganda totally denies the sincere assistance rendered by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in founding and consolidating the Communist Party of Albania and, generally, in the development and strengthening of the national liberation struggle in Albania.

For the benefit of the Tirana falsifiers and distorters, we cite a fragment from the letter which the then and present first secretary of the Communist Party of Albania addressed to Comrade Tito on 23 September 1944:

"The great interest you have always shown to our young party," the letter states among other things, "your valuable advise and the constant immeasurable aid given by you, were one of the primary factors in the founding, growth and consolidating of our party....

"Your numerous letters containing wise advice, to which we were unfortunately unable to reply owing to the wartime situations, opened up broad vistas in our work and the new horizons to which we have committed all our efforts.

"The correct and clear line of the heroic Communist Party of Yugoslavia was, to us, not merely a beacon of anti-fascism which illuminated our arduous and difficult road, but was at the same time a powerful mainstay for the work that we had just started.

In this common struggle against the common enemy, our two sister parties deepened the brotherhood between the Yugoslav and Albanian peopels," states the letter addressed to Comrade Tito on 23 September 1944 by the first secretary of the Communist Party of Albania.

The efforts of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to induce the Comintern to recognize the existence of the Communist Party of Albania is another illustration of sincere assistance. The relations in the international communist movement at the time where such that if a communist party did not enjoy recognition by the Comintern, it in fact enjoyed no recognition by the international communist movement.

3. In the extremely difficult postwar conditions, the nations and peoples of Yugoslavia led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia shared their food, beyond their own capacities, to enable neighboring Albania to normalize its life.

4. The Albanian leadership knows very well the difficulties it encountered with regard to Albania's recognition by other countries as an independent socialist state and its international affirmation. The big powers at the time did not allow Albania to participate in the Paris peace conference after World War II. The Yugoslav delegation persistently defended its vital interests. In addition, let us also mention Yugoslavia's continuous efforts concerning Albania's admittance to the United Nations.

The leading group in Albania knows all this, and other things, too, very well, and so do the Albanian people. Until 1948 Albania expressed its profound gratitude and respect for Yugoslavia's internationalist aid, as can be seen by dozens of documents. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia and, respectively, the LCY, has not asked and is not asking the Albanian communists to bow in respect for the solidarity of the Yugoslav communists with the Albanian communists. But Marxist-Leninist ethics and humanism do not comply with the denial of aid, and even less so with its exploitation for typical Stalinist slanders and lies.

What are the current aims of these miserable propaganda tirades under the guise of supposedly historical facts?

Unable to show real achievements in the socioeconomic life and with a lack of convincing prospects, Tirana's isolated Stalinists are trying to divert the attention of their people from the impasse in which they find themselves. The true picture and poor balance of the Stalinist road traversed by the leading group in Albania cannot be concealed with falsifications, lies and speculation. Let no one believe that the Albanian people in Yugoslavia will swallow these Stalinist manipulations. In brotherhood with the other nations and peoples, the Albanian people in Yugoslavia will never relinquish their path. They are proud of their acheivements to date and of the clear and certain prospects that they see in the self-managing socialist system, in full equality as an equal member of our society and in the independent and nonaligned policy of Tito's Yugoslavia.

LACK OF RESPONSIBILITY IN KOSOVO NOTED

AU190198 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Milorad Vujovic commentary]

[Text] In the current activities to implement economic stabilization, which in Kosovo are made more difficult by the parallel struggle against the counterrevolutionary and hostile activities of Albanian nationalists and irredentists, the main stress is put on the need for higher production and the elimination of subjective shortcomings that have piled up. All these discussions generate a uniform request that a change in economic behavior be made as soon as possible, since irresponsibility toward the implementation of work obligations and numerous other shortcomings have led to large losses. These are constantly growing despite the constant promises that they will be eliminated next year.

The question of responsibility and differentiation of communists according to how much they exert themselves in their jobs has therefore been posed much more resolutely than ever before. The requests which are rightly called the imperative of the moment must be fulfilled at once without shirking and at all costs, for the overall actions depend on them; their success must ultimately be measured by what has been done and not by the quality of the decisions adopted, which until now has most often been the case.

This need to begin to implement what has been agreed upon at once and carefully in all the communities and at all levels was sharply pointed out at the latest session of the communal committee of the League of Communists of Pristina. Another specific request emanating from this gathering was to pay much more attention to the question of greater responsibility by the leading cadres, executive organs and management structures for the business results in the associated labor organizations.

It was reiterated on that occasion that it is necessary to revitalize many views concerning production, distribution or relations between production and consumption. It is obvious that this request is necessary and well founded, for even the initial data on the Pristina business operations in the 9 months of this year show no signs of improvement. Although costs in that period rose much more rapidly than gross revenue, while personal income increased 54 percent --out of all proportion to the revenue and the losses recorded in 29 out of 163 basic organizations of associated labor -- nobody has borne even a mite of responsibility for such operations.

Even under pronounced shortcomings, which in some collectives have been present for years, and despite the clear position of the communal conference of the League of Communists that political and self-managing responsibility by cadres who influence the poor situation in the economy should be invoked, no one even a lost hair because of it.

It is obvious that this situation and such an understanding of responsibility cannot help to strengthen the awareness of the communists and all working people about the need for stabilization behavior which should not be based on the economic necessity of the moment but should become our long-term program task.

We have cited the Pristina example, but let us say at once that the situation is similar in many other of the 22 Kosovo communes. There are rare cases of anybody being called to account for not fulfilling the plan tasks and therefore for hampering the development of self-managing and socioeconomic relations. There is no doubt that here lie the basic problems in the struggle for stabilization, it was pointed out last week at meetings and in communal committees in Pec, Dragas and Urosevac and at some other gatherings.

Indeed, at the (Debik Canga) timber combine of Urosevac, which has operated with losses for several years, changes in the leading cadres were undertaken recently, but one gets the impression that even at this point, the leaders, who used to lead the collective with sufficient boldness and determination, were not told what their errors were. Nevertheless, this attempt is to be welcomed with the observation that every basic organization of the League of Communists, the Communal Assembly, the Executive Council, the self-managing interest communities and all the other structures of the political system must assess and thoroughly determine who is in favor of stabilization and how much he confirms it with his behavior, and who behaves to the contrary.

It is certain that if everybody will carry out his part of the job, the rather complex situation in the Kosovo economy will be overcome more rapidly and with less pain.

In place of a conclusion, it seems to be most suitable at this moment when general statements are made and there is a veritable flood of verbal pledges to the need for a change in behavior, that instead of relying on false stabilization effects one should in all communities implement the tasks determined. The personal example of communists affirming themselves as the frontline fighters cannot be avoided in this respect.

SERBIA, VOJVODINA SAWP DELEGATION VISITS KOSOVO

LD201632 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 20 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Pristina 20 Oct (TANJUG) -- On the second day of its visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the delegation of the Republican SAWP Conference of Serbia and of the Provincial SAWP Conference of Vojvodina, led by conference presidents Zika Padojlovic and Pavle Krtenic, visited the tobacco combine in Gnuilane and then Vitina and Urosevac.

At the Municipal SAWP conference of Vitina, leaders of the SAWP of the Republic [of Serbia] and of the Province of Vojvodina were briefed on the political security and economic situations in this municipality and on the activities carried out by organized socialist forces to stabilize the overall situation. The delegation later visited Klokot.

In the afternoon, the representatives of the SAWP of Serbia and Vojvodina, together with their hosts from the Provincial SAWP Conference of Kosovo, held talks in Brezovica with the leadership of Uroevac municipality. It was reported that an intensive activity of all progressive forces is in progress in Vitina and Urosevac municipalities to unmask and expose the exponents of enemy activity in view of the fact that activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism was still present.

It was stressed, therefore, that greater involvement of socialist forces in combating and eradicating all forms of enemy activity and in creating a climate for a secure future for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo was necessary.

KOSOVO LOCAL COMMUNIST MEETING VIEWS EMIGRATION

AU162159 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] An expanded session of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Podujevo, which was chaired by its president (Jeti Legasi) and attended by Husein in Prekazi and Rahman Begaj, discussed current problems of relations among nationalities, particularly the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the territory of this commune in the 1971-1981 period.

Both in the introductory speech submitted by Saman Krasnici and in the discussion, it was said that the League of Communists of Podujevo had developed a permanent activity to create a favorable political climate for all peoples and nationalities of this commune.

At the session it was noted that the low level of socioeconomic development and the low material base had influenced emigration, both out of the commune as well as out of the province. The implementation of the policy of national equality of peoples and nationalities has always been paid special attention by the commune. However, on the basis of an analysis and report, it was noted that in the 1971-1981 period, 269 Serbian and 49 Montenegrin families had emigrated from the territory of the commune.

According to the assessment of the Communal Committee and of other sociopolitical organizations of the commune, the main reasons for the emigration of Serbian and Montenegrin families from this commune were employment, better economic conditions, family links and education. Nonetheless, there were cases of pressures on the part of certain families of Albanian nationality which are well-known for causing problems in this region. The communal committee of the League of Communists has obligated communists to struggle to deepen confidence among the peoples and nationalities of the commune. The tasks stemming from the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo direct the communists to this struggle.

MACEDONIA'S ARSOV ON NATIONALISM, FOREIGN POLICY

AU211654 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 81 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] Skopje, 10 Oct -- The 11 October uprising day of the Macedonian people and the 40th anniversary of the uprising and revolution of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia have been celebrated at numerous festive events in all Macedonian communes.

Tonight in Skopje, a festive soiree was held on the occasion of the 11 October holiday at which Ljupco Arsov, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and president of the committee for the celebration, spoke on the significance of this shining date in the history of the Macedonian people. On that occasion he said, among other things:

Speaking about the results of our national liberation struggle and socialist revolution and its great achievements, I consider it necessary to single out two facts: First, the fact that the unity of the Yugoslav Communist Party as preserved under a fragmented Yugoslavia, and second, the internationalism of the workers class in solving the national question.

I particularly emphasize these two facts because both during the war and today there have been attempts to dispute the achieved equality of the Yugoslav peoples and the national rights of nationalities. The reactionary and counterrevolutionary elements are once again raising their heads in the struggle against the socialist self-managing Yugoslavia from the nationalist and irredentist positions. History clearly confirms that nationalism in all of its forms has always been an instrument of the most reactionary and darkest forces. All our peoples and nationalities and especially the Macedonian people have experienced that on their own backs. The heaviest blow to nationalism of all colors was dealt by the results achieved at an all-Yugoslav level during the war. We are fully justified to point out that as early as during the war the Macedonian communists and the Macedonian people, acting on the platform of the Yugoslav Communist Party, dealt a decisive blow to the Macedonian nationalism by developing brotherhood and unity with all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and especially with the Albanian and Turkish nationalities living in Macedonia.

And at the same time, struggling together with the Macedonian communists and the Macedonian people against fascism and the occupation, the communists and progressive and democratic forces from the ranks of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities cut the roots of nationalism among their own nationalities. This joint struggle led to the achieved brotherhood and unity and equality. All attempts to undermine them have encountered and will continue to encounter our resolute resistance.

Condemnation of Irredentist Slogans

The formation of their national state, federal democratic Macedonia, within federal democratic Yugoslavia, in addition to the national freedom won, at the same time represented for the Macedonian people a historic settling of accounts with all nationalist and greater state encroachments on their national freedom and territory. Although even today the recidivist nationalist and greater state appetites have not been finally and definitely overcome, and are being most openly expressed in neighboring Bulgaria and lately also in Albania, we are fully justified to point out that the times of games and machinations with the Macedonian people's national identity and freedom have passed long ago. It was in their armed struggle and revolution that the Macedonian people defeated the nationalist and territorial aspirations of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the Bulgarian fascism. In 1941, the Bulgarian Communist Party which itself, as Georgi Dimitrov used to say, had not freed itself from the Bulgarian bourgeois nationalist dreams, tried to prevent the Macedonian people's armed struggle through the traitorous role played by Metodi Satorov-Sarlo.

These efforts encountered energetic resistance of and were thwarted by the Macedonain communists with the support of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Tito. For this reason today, the statements by the individual Bulgarian and Greek circles reviving the illusions of the San Stefano Bulgaria and greater Greece -- as though the self-determination of the Macedonian people is yet to come, as though there has been no armed struggle and revolution in Macedonia and as though in the postwar period the Macedonian people have not finally, definitely and completely demonstrated their national individuality -- sound ridiculous to all of us. The nationalist aspirations of the Albanian reactionaries for the "greater Albania", the aspirations advanced by the present Albanian leadership, were also defeated during the war. Today they do not differ in any way from the games of the darkest reactionaries in the past and especially during the war when the same slogans were used in the efforts to provoke a confrontation between the Macedonian, Serbian, Montenegrin and other Yugoslav peoples on one hand, and the Albanian people on the other.

For this reason, Arsov stressed, the counterrevolutionary nationalist and irredentist demonstrations in Kosovo have been most widely condemned by all Yugoslav working people and citizens. The nationalist and irredentist slogans that we also encounter in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia have been most sharply condemned by our working people.

Speaking about our nonaligned policy, Arsov said that our country's peace-loving and nonaligned foreign policy has naturally grown from the essence of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution.

Proceeding from the permanent principles of our foreign policy, Macedonia has always attached special importance to our country's relations with the neighboring countries, and struggled for and advocated the principles of equality and respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs. We firmly stand by these principles because we are deeply convinced that they make it possible to overcome the disastrous results of the past which have left heavy consequences not only among the Macedonian people but also among other Balkan peoples. Respect for historical reality is an imperative of our time, and it is a prerequisite for a quicker socioeconomic and cultural development of the people. For that reason we are constantly striving to develop good relations with all neighboring countries, but it is obvious that what is needed for this purpose is that the neighbouring countries also overcome past dreams, accept historical inevitability and recognize the national rights of the Macedonian minority living there, because that is the singular prerequisite for a real and comprehensive development of good-neighborly and friendly mutual relations.

Let us repeat today: We do not need to be recognized or not recognized by anyone. The Macedonian people and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia are an historical fact confirmed through centuries by the blood of this people. Viewing Macedonia through the prism of past infernal plans and through the dark eyeglasses of big powers and their puppets has been always tragic and dangerous for all peoples in the Balkans and further afield, Arsov stressed. This kind of viewing has always been an expression of delusions of one's own nationalism and hegemonism.

BRIEFS

PRISTINA HEATING COST RISE -- The Thermokos-Pristina associated labor organization for heating begins its heating season tomorrow, which will end on 15 April next year. All users of this organization's services will pay 25 percent more for heating apartments and 32 percent more for business premises in the social sector. [Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Oct 81 AU]